THOMAS JEFFERSON ANDREW JACKSON ABRAHAM LINCOLN

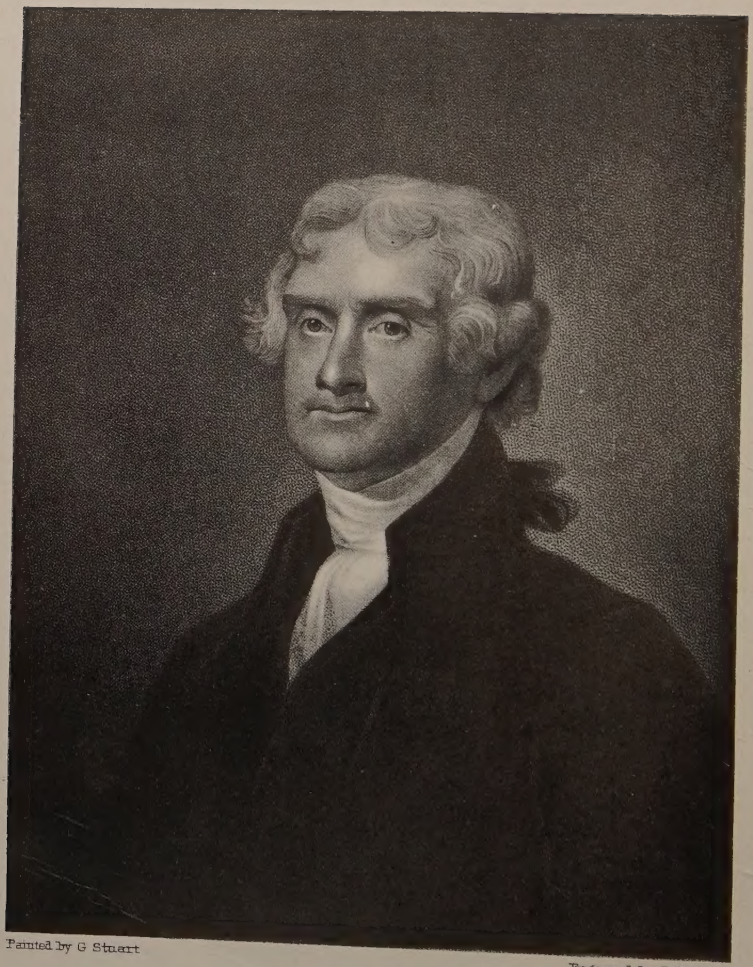
"THAT GOVERNMENT IS BEST
WHICH GOVERNS LEAST,"

F. A. Ramsay

"If we rest upon government
to tell us when to sow or reap,
we shall soon want bread."
Jefferson

Not in System
Signed ?

JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY



Painted by G Stuart

Engraved by J. C Buttre

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY

Which means the Democracy of

THOMAS JEFFERSON, ANDREW JACKSON

and ABRAHAM LINCOLN

"THAT GOVERNMENT IS BEST WHICH GOVERNS LEAST"

BY

JOHN R. DUNLAP

PUBLISHED BY

THE JEFFERSONIAN SOCIETY

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By JOHN R. DUNLAP

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TO THE MEMORY OF

Brevet Brig.-Gen. Henry Clay Dunlap

This little volume is reverently dedicated, as a civilian son's tribute of love and honor for the soldier father whose manhood and courage prompted him to fight, through four years, in the ranks of the patriots who preserved "our Union, the last anchor of our hope".

PREFACE.

This book is a result of full thirty years' study and observation of political, economic, and industrial conditions in the United States. During the past six years, also, four separate visits to and many months of residence and active work in Europe, have afforded me unusual opportunities for studying European institutions and conditions in comparison with our own.

But the book itself has been hurriedly written during the past winter and spring, while I have carried the responsible direction of the publishing business which is my source of income. For these reasons the work lacks the literary finish, and the completeness of evidence and argument, which I should like to have given it. But I think it carries the essential merit of making my position clear upon the main subjects discussed; and I have faith that the publication of the historic and incontestable facts which I present will do something towards putting the Democratic party back upon the broad highway of Jeffersonian principles and precedents. We need only follow that, to be sure of winning the highest destiny to which the Anglo-Saxon race aspires.

I shall now be glad to have the name and address of every reader who wishes to go upon the honor roll of those who are determined to proclaim anew the immortal principles of the great

author of the Declaration of Independence. Pasted inside the front cover is a mailing card which explains itself. If the card has been used by a previous reader, simply write the following letter—a duplicate of the card—to the address indicated:

FOR CHARTER MEMBERSHIP IN

THE JEFFERSONIAN SOCIETIES.

To the Secretary, *pro tem.*
The Jeffersonian Societies,
120 Liberty St., New York, U. S. A.

DEAR SIR:

I desire to be enrolled as a charter member of The Jeffersonian Societies, upon the understanding (1) that every member pledges himself to promote the political principles of Thomas Jefferson as applied to present-day conditions; (2) that each local Society is to govern its own affairs, by majority vote of its registered members in good standing; (3) that the Federated or National Society is to be governed by a Congress of Representatives, to be elected by majority vote of the local Societies; and (4) that all contributions of money for carrying on the work of the Societies are to be voluntary.

Name .....
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Address .....

The plan is simply to duplicate the Democratic Societies which did such effective work in the time of Jefferson and Madison—but this time, to honor our Societies by giving them the name of the commanding genius who proved himself the creative and constructive architect of American institutions.

We know what Jefferson and his followers accomplished; we know precisely how they organized for effective effort; and, for our time, the opportunity is now full ripe to take up the great work "which they who fought have thus far so nobly advanced."

J. R. D.

New York, May 20, 1903.

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THE JEFFERSONIAN SOCIETY
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THE RULE OF THE MILLIONAIRES.

"From panic, pride, and terror,
Revenge that knows no rein,
Light haste and lawless error,
Protect us yet again."
—*Hymn before Battle.*

"I am a staunch Protectionist." —*Andrew Carnegie.*

"The tariff is the mother of Trusts." —*Henry O. Havemeyer.*

"It is too late to argue about the advantages of industrial combinations. They are a necessity." —*John D. Rockefeller.*

Community of interest—"Is when a number of men who own property can do what they like with it."
—*J. Pierpont Morgan.*

"The public be damned." —*William H. Vanderbilt.*

Chapter I.

Jefferson's fears have been realized.

The people of the United States are ruled today by a formidable group of very rich men—a "community-of-interest" alliance between millionaires and politicians who have captured the Republican party, whose only gospel is gain, and who, in consequence, have enacted the most scandalous legislation for fleecing the people that ever disgraced the statute books of a civilized state!

This is strong language.

But I have weighed the words carefully; I do

not think they over-state the facts; and I shall straightway name the men and present the evidence to sustain so deliberate and bold a statement.

The conditions of today are not new to American politics. But I fancy that many thinking Americans, engrossed in business and too busy to study history, will be startled by the discovery that we are face to face with exactly the same forces of money and aristocracy, bottomed on political corruption, which at the birth of the Nation gravely menaced free institutions; which a generation later threw our finances into utter confusion and panic; and which, scarcely more than a generation ago, plunged us into a holocaust of civil war the most frightful of recorded history.

For in Jefferson's day it was Alexander Hamilton's system of monarchy and aristocracy, "bottomed on corruption," as opposed to democratic principles of government. In Jackson's day, and in Jackson's memorable phrase, the issue made out was simply, "Shall the government or the people rule?" And in Lincoln's day, it was Slavery and secession, in open array against Protection and confiscation, that enabled a group of reckless Southern leaders to lash a patriotic and loyally Union people into unwilling rebellion, through a persistent and sinful appeal to the pocket-interest of a slave-holding aristocracy.

> "For where the treasure is, there will the heart be also."

In later chapters I shall present the evidence of

history to prove all this. And here and now, I shall present evidence in plenty to show that in the coming Presidential campaign the issue to be squarely presented—again in Jackson's telling phrase—will be:

Shall the Trusts, or the people rule?

Shall we govern ourselves, or shall we delegate that duty to a group of our great Captains of Finance?

"Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself.

"Can he then be trusted with the government of others?

"Or have we found angels in the form of kings to govern him?

"Let history answer this question." —*Thomas Jefferson.*

There can be no doubt of the answer that the American people will give. It will be the same answer that they gave when they swept the Federal party into merited contempt and oblivion—The same answer that they gave when they enshrined Andrew Jackson in immortal fame for his priceless service in stamping-out the rebellion of the Nullifiers and in choking-off the monopoly of the people's banking facilities—The same answer that they gave when they made a President of a rail-splitter, when they tore the shackles from four million slaves, and when they dyed the Constitution in blood and sacrifice to prove, in Jefferson's prophetic and immortal words, that "we shall never give up our Union, the last anchor of our hope, and that alone which is to prevent this heavenly country from becoming an arena of gladiators."

And that we may clearly foresee the exact na-

ture of the answer which is surely coming, it is only necessary to review the recent past—only necessary to show that the Republican party long ago betrayed and forfeited the confidence of the American people, as repeated defeat has clearly proved.

Thus, as early as 1876, barely more than ten years after the great Civil War had been fought and won, the corruption of the whisky ring, the Star Route frauds, and the Credit Mobilier outrage, fairly elected Tilden to the Presidency—and that, too, by a popular majority of nearly four hundred thousand freemen.

Again in 1880 an enormous majority of the people voted in favor of Hancock, the Democrat, Weaver, the greenbacker, and other candidates; but through the folly of the greenback and prohibition enthusiasts, in dividing the great popular majority, Garfield was elected by a plurality vote of the States—and that solely because the resumption of specie payments in 1879 gave us the boom of 1880, thus enabling the Republicans, under Blaine's shrewd leadership, to claim full credit for the prosperity born of the first triumph of sound money, and to buy enough votes "in blocks of five" to carry the doubtful States.

In 1884 Mr. Cleveland was elected over "The Plumed Knight" of the Republican hosts—obviously because "magnetic" Mr. Blaine had identified himself with all the legislative and political corruption that the people repudiated in the Reform campaign of 1876.

True to his Democratic trust, and well-knowing that he would imperil his re-election, Mr.

Cleveland gave us the famous Tariff Reform message of 1887. Then it was, for the first time in American history, that the Tariff question was squarely presented, apart from all other issues. Mr. Harrison stood for Protection; Mr. Cleveland stood for "a tariff for revenue only." Mr. Harrison was elected by a plurality vote of the States—but once more, take note, Mr. Cleveland received 98,017 more votes than the people gave to the Protection candidate. The significance of the latter event is shown in the sequel.

The Republicans were no sooner restored to power than they passed the McKinley Bill, for the exclusive benefit of the protected manufacturers; and worse than that, they passed the Sherman Silver Coinage law, *as the price deliberately paid to the silver miners of the Western States for votes enough to enact the McKinley Bill.*

Now observe the result!

Protection and Inflation began at once to do their work. All the materials of manufacture were enhanced in price, and the startling advances in the prices of all the necessaries of the home, furnished the newspaper sensation of the day.

Then again the people declared themselves—and this time with unmistakable emphasis! An overwhelming Democratic majority was returned in the Congressional elections of 1890; and Mr. Cleveland, having declared himself on the silver issue, was foreordained as the only possible Democratic candidate. In the Presidential elec-

tion which followed in 1892, Mr. Harrison stood squarely for Protection and *proved sympathy for silver inflation;* and Mr. Cleveland stood squarely for Tariff Reform and Sound Money.

Mr. Cleveland was triumphantly elected!

He went back to the White House armed with a statesman's courage to execute the people's will; and he did a patriot's work—as history cannot fail to tell.

But, alas, Republican Protection and Republican Inflation had done their deadly work. The seeds of disaster had been sown. We were plunged headlong into the most desperate and most prolonged panic and industrial depression that the American people have ever been called upon to suffer!

The history of what followed is too recent, and too vivid in painful recollection, to call for record here. I will simply point to the conspicuous fact, known of all men, that Mr. McKinley was twice elected because he had been FORCED to declare for sound money, and because patriotic Democrats and tariff reformers were FORCED to vote for him to save the Nation from a maelstrom of repudiation and financial chaos. In other words, *they voted against* Mr. Bryan's free coinage for silver—*not for* Mr. McKinley's Protection. It was, therefore, the weakness of the Democratic platform, not McKinley's strength, that twice made the American people unwilling victims of the deep schemes of the Protection leaders. And how adroitly they have since used the golden opportunity we shall now see.

Though they were clearly commissioned and definitely pledged to put our finances in order; though they well knew that the people had emphatically and repeatedly repudiated Protection; yet the Republicans were no sooner back in power than McKinley's first act was to send a brief message to Congress calling for the immediate passage of a law increasing tariff duties—calling for the iniquities of that crowning measure of political perfidy, the Dingley Bill.

Not a word was said in the message about currency reform. Not an honest move was made to legally affirm the gold standard. Not until March 14th, 1900—three full years after McKinley took his seat—did they pass the Gold Standard Bill. And to this day they have done absolutely nothing to give simplicity, uniformity and elasticity to our numerous, confusing and inadequate issues of paper and silver money.

In naked truth, they have used the money question precisely as Hamilton used it in his day; precisely as Blaine used the greenback issue in his day; and precisely as we have lately seen Morgan and the Standard Oil bankers make effective use of the money stringency in Wall Street—used it as a threat and a club to browbeat the banking and commercial classes into submission to their tyrannous rule; used it to put stocks up and to put stocks down; used it to sow confusion and dread in the minds of the people; used it as the one terrible weapon which makes men of vast wealth easy masters of the

wild scenes of speculation which have been enacted in Wall Street in recent years.

"But time at last sets all things even;
And if we but wait the hour,
There never yet was human power
That could evade, if unforgiven,
The patient search and vigil long
Of him who treasures up a wrong."

Verily the poets speak the people's thought! At last, at last, we have the beneficiaries of Protection cornered where they can not get away.

For deception is now no longer possible!

Within the past five years Wall Street stock-jobbers have done what thirty years of honest tariff reform effort could not do. American manufacturers now plainly see that there is indeed boundless prosperity in Protection—for a few people! American workingmen now scoff at thread-bare threats of "the pauper labor of Europe." American farmers in Iowa and the Middle West are in open revolt over the low prices at which our manufactures are sold in foreign markets. And the vaunted "economies" of industrial combinations — which Rockefeller shrewdly tells us "are a necessity" to *cheapen* production—have been turned into maddening mockery by the high prices which the combinations exact for all the materials of home manufacture; by the higher prices which they exact for every necessary of home consumption—notably beef, coal, and coal oil!

There is indeed but one pretense left to the Prosperity Prophets—and that is that we shall be plunged into another panic if they be driven

from power. Blaine fooled some people with that pretense before; but it is a pretense which can fool them no more. For since Blaine's day the people have been thoroughly well educated in problems of money and finance. They read with too-evident satisfaction—unalloyed by alarm—the terrific tales of panic and disaster which overwhelm Wall Street when Morgan and Hill go up against Harriman and Kuhn-Loeb; when Rockefeller and Rogers tackle Lawson and Heinze; when Gates and his friends shrewdly corner control of the L. & N.; or when Standard Oil "bandits" (as Gates called them), make money tight and issue solemn warnings through Mr. Vanderlip to save the Nation from the foul plots of the "Western plungers."

The people clearly understand, also, that the promoters and underwriters of "industrial combinations" have made many millions by putting these stocks up; and now, in cruel "bear" fashion, they are beginning to make other millions by putting stocks down—by selling short "to shake out the little fellows." The process is spectacular, and it is exceedingly rough on the "little fellows." But it spells something very different from panic. For obviously men with millions at their command are certain to buy when stocks are really cheap—and then straightway they turn "bulls" again! They want dividends. And to get dividends they must keep the factories going!

No, no; they want no serious panic—and we may rest entirely sure they will not permit one. They know, as the people now clearly under-

stand, that the causes of panic and industrial depression lie deeper. They know, as men of intelligence the world over well know, that our last panic, with all its direful results, was due solely to the silver craze—due specifically to the Sherman Silver Coinage Law. And we have no less an authority than John Sherman himself, for the statement that he introduced and passed that bill in a Republican Congress, because a majority of both the Senate and House stood ready to pass a measure for the free coinage of silver, while a Republican President in the White House stood ready to sign it.

The world well remembers, also, that Mr. McKinley was the outspoken advocate of the free coinage of silver; and previous to his nomination for the Presidency his speeches teemed with declarations rivaling the worst that Mr. Bryan has ever uttered.

The record further proves that it was Mr. Cleveland, a Democratic President, who called an extra session of Congress to repeal the Sherman Silver Coinage Law; and it was Mr. Cleveland who stood manfully to his duty, through long weeks of dire panic and bitter warfare with Free Silver Republicans and Free Silver Democrats—in the Senate—until that Republican legislation was wiped from our statute books. And to that priceless public service, more than to all other causes combined, we owe the prolonged prosperity which we enjoy—*and shall continue to enjoy!* For in the light of this glad day even school boys understand that this mighty Nation is yet in the infancy of its power, its wealth, and

its greatness. No menace of foreign nations can now affright us. No sort of panic can now stay our progress. And should an earthquake engulf Wall Street; should all its millions and its multi-millionaires be swept into oblivion in a night—this eighty millions of freemen would wake up next morning to marvel at the havoc that had been wrought, and then straightway begin the work of counting the cost, repairing the damage, filling the places of the missing men, and going straight on with the mission "which they who fought have thus far so nobly advanced."

"Future events, of whatever nature they may be, will not deprive the Americans of their climate or of their inland seas, of their great rivers or of their exuberant soil. Nor will bad laws, revolutions, or anarchy, be able to obliterate that love of prosperity and that spirit of enterprise which seem to be the distinctive characteristics of their race, or to extinguish the knowledge which guides them on their way.

"Thus in the midst of the uncertain future, one event at least is sure. At a period which may be said to be near, the Anglo-Americans will alone cover the immense space contained between the polar regions and the tropics, extending from the coast of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific Ocean."

—M. de Tocqueville, in 1835.

But the time has come for plain speaking.

The time has come when prudence and patriotism alike demand that we shall name our rulers, disclose their motives, and describe the exact methods whereby they win their millions.

The task is not a pleasant one. I should gladly leave it to others. I should much prefer to credit every public man with all the good intentions he professes—much prefer to believe that the "mighty millionaires" and "princely benefac-

tors'' who manage our finances, manipulate our politics, and ''organize'' our industries, are really concerned for the public welfare. But actions speak louder than words. No man can blind himself to what all thinking men plainly see. The millionaires are thinking only of their millions and themselves—''the public be damned!'' The motives which dominate the thought and purpose of every man of them, are (1) greed of wealth and power; (2) glory in triumph over personal rivals; and (3) the delusive hope that splendid gifts in money can delude the people, buy the admiration of living men, and mortgage the loving gratitude of men and women yet unborn.

I know, as millions of others well know, and as a great scientist has aptly said, that ''the inherited predatory tendency of men to seize upon the fruits of other people's labor is still very strong.'' And Wall Street affords conclusive proof that the predatory tendency of the strong men of our time takes the very definite form of stocks and bonds, watered wholesale, and issued for billions of money—*upon which the people are heavily taxed to pay interest and dividends.* I see plainly, also, that whereas the whole American people realize that we are being thus ruled and taxed for the special benefit of a few rich men and rich families, very few Americans understand exactly how the thing is being done. But I have made a business of studying the problem intently; and through study I have come to see that the system is so simple and obvious, and the remedies so well-tried and so certain to cure the ills which afflict us, that the unvarnished facts

only need to be stated in cold print, without fear or favor, to make an end of the shameless system from which we suffer. For the truth is that, through deception and secrecy—through the absence of publicity—we are actually ruled by men who hold no public offices, but who buy, own, bulldoze and direct the little politicians who scramble for the "honors" and offices of the Republican machine.

"Let those flatter who fear; it is not an American art." —*Thomas Jefferson.*

The need of the hour, as I see it, therefore, is that we name the leaders among the millionaires who are ruling us; that we name the politicians in high office who obey the behests of these leaders; and that we describe the exact plan of the political machine through which the work is done. For the political machine holds all the secrets of the millions that now amaze and menace us; and whereas long and costly experience has made us perfectly familiar with the little local machines, very few people clearly comprehend the system and organization of the formidable political machine which is centered in the United States Senate, and which, through "community-of-interest" between millionaires and politicians, now absolutely rules the whole country—under the personal direction of a few men who manufacture and manipulate Trust stocks, and who control the invaluable franchises which the people have granted for railroads, pipe-lines, and all public utilities.

What we need, in truth, and just about all we

need, is the spirit and language of Andrew Jackson—as our fathers needed him sorely in 1860!

"This is only *justice;* this we ask of government; this we are entitled to; and this we must and will have. This may be thought strong language; but it is the language that freemen, when they are only claiming a fulfillment of their rights, ought to use. It is a language they ought to be taught to lisp from their cradles." —*Andrew Jackson.*

We need the clear thinking and the fearless writing that Jefferson taught Jackson to employ. For in our day as in Jefferson's day, and then again in Jackson's day, we are face to face with identically the same forces of sordid greed and sinful corruption. The forces are the same; the methods are the same; the issues are the same; and the remedies are so familiar that they need only re-statement to find instant recognition—and prompt application! And just so surely as Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln won before us, so we shall win now—so our children shall go on winning throughout all future time!

The great Republic is, in truth, yet in the making—is hardly past the boyhood stage of rapid growth and development. Dewey's immortal work at Manila first opened the eyes of living generations to our great future; and though the Trust bubble, like the South Sea bubble and the Mississippi bubble, has since puffed-up to menace and affright the few, it carries no terrors for the manhood of the new race which has stepped upon the world's stage to proclaim anew that the fittest shall rule, and that the poor,

the lowly and the helpless shall not be enslaved to the service of the sordid few who are debased and debauched by money-worship.

> "But hark! the bugle's blowing on the peaks,
> And hark! a murmur as of many feet.
> The cry of Captains, the divine alarm!
> Look, the last Son of Time comes hurrying on,
> The strong young Titan of Democracy!"

I shall set down naught in malice; for I have no personal grievance to avenge, and I fain would leave unsaid much that must be written. But I have lived through two prolonged and desperate panics; I have been eye witness to the awful disaster and wretchedness they entailed; and I remember, as though it were yesterday, what happened at Pittsburg in 1877, at Homestead in 1892, and at Chicago in 1894. I know the full portent and prophecy of that latest enormity of "man's inhumanity to man" in the anthracite region; I clearly understand what free born Americans now feel, and think, and suffer; and as a soldier's son who well knows, from tried use, that "the pen is mightier than the sword," *I mean to make for peace,* by laying bare in these pages the sordid motives, the political methods, and the social wrongs which *steadily make for strife.*

The conspicuous leaders, the men who do the dangerous work, are Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, and J. Pierpont Morgan. Many other "Captains of Industry" and "Captains of Finance" might be added to the list; but we are not concerned with the rank and file. I select to place responsibility where responsibility be-

longs—upon the influential and powerful leaders; the men who think, who plan, who act, and who have pocketed the lion's share of all the Protection spoil.

"For the love of money is a root of all kinds of evil."

I put Carnegie in the forefront of the offenders, because he is the personal embodiment of Protection—the spectacular demonstration of the inevitable result of legislation for the special benefit of a few, at the direct expense of the many. A free trader at heart, a confessed free trader in public print—as any man can plainly read between his shrewdly worded lines—he has yet devoted all his arts and cunning to confusing the minds of the American people and committing their representatives to precisely that political policy and Protection legislation which would put most money into his own pocket. James G. Blaine, "Pig Iron" Kelley, and William McKinley loom large in popular fancy as the great apostles of Protection; but in naked truth from the hour the tariff question became a political issue in 1880, Carnegie has been the active, scheming, and resourceful leader of them all. The intimate and confidential friend of Blaine, the watchful and designing counsellor of Kelley, McKinley, and all the lesser leaders of the party, Carnegie has inspired and directed every move that has been made. Fame lured the politicians, but it is insatiate greed for millions that has kept the wily little Scot steadily to his work ever since our burden of war taxes gave him his golden opportunity.

Economists, free trade writers and college pro-

fessors are fond of boasting that Protection is without a literature—that all the great authorities upon political economy repudiate the theory, demonstrate its fallacy, and spurn to give it any extended treatment. This is true enough—so true that I never yet met a believer in Protection who does not in some form drop the familiar remark "Oh, free trade is all right in theory; but it won't work in practice."

But Carnegie has filled the gap in Protection "literature."

I have been a newspaper man all my life, and I have studied the literature of free trade with absorbing interest. But in all my reading I never yet found any free trade writing which approaches what Carnegie has voiced and penned in advocacy of Protection—in point of winning plausibility, shrewd qualification of definite proposals, generous praise of Cobden, Bright and Villiers, artful recognition of the priceless public services of William L. Wilson, and positive power in appealing to the pocket interest and patriotism of intelligent men who are unfamiliar with European conditions and untrained in economic thought, but who influence the greatest possible number of votes. His work has taken every possible form; and for thirty years past the "personal" letter and the timely newspaper interview have been his chief dependence. But enough of his writing has now been collected in book form to clearly show his artfulness; and if *those who see through the man and his methods,* will simply spend an hour at some library in reading "The Empire of Business,"—particularly

the chapter on "Steel Manufacture in the United States," and the three closing chapters—they will understand, clearly enough, why millions of clear-headed men in America are deluded with the belief that Protection has built-up our great industries.

Everybody knows that Free Trade made Britain the foremost manufacturing nation of the nineteenth century. We also know that Free Trade among the States is the inestimable boon which has assured us first place for the twentieth century—precisely as Free Trade among her numerous States has enriched Germany and given her the proud place she has won since 1871. Free Trade, in ultimate fact, is the only natural, logical, just—and hence profitable—policy for every nation under the sun. Carnegie knows this; and in my tariff chapter I shall quote him in proof of it. But Carnegie has had a pocket interest in preaching Protection for America; and, *with that central fact clearly in mind,* any intelligent reader can now both understand and accurately estimate the cunning little Scot by simply studying his writings.

"Oh, that mine adversary had written a book!"

A great manufacturer and employer himself, and always assuming to speak disinterestedly for that important class, he has ever been in position to exert great influence; and he has used that influence with a dash and skill unparalleled in effective results. By timely and strikingly worded newspaper interviews—often cabled from his estates in Britain to make them doubly impressive;

by shrewdly written articles published in both British and American magazines—wherever they would have most telling effect; by hundreds of personal letters to members of the Cabinet and to leaders in Congress—always carefully marked "confidential" that he might not be betrayed as the moving force; by frequent visits and impressive conferences at Washington; by quiet little dinner parties upon all opportune occasions; and always by heavy contributions to the campaign funds—these have been the methods of a master-mind in managing the most formidable and most prodigiously profitable political machine in recorded history.

"Aristocracies are infinitely more expert in the science of legislation than democracies ever can be. They are possessed of a self-control which protects them from the errors of a temporary excitement; and *they form lasting designs which they mature with the assistance of favorable opportunities.*"

—*M. de Tocqueville.*

"Triumphant Democracy" in book form embodies Mr. Carnegie's patriotic professions; and libraries galore—to perpetuate his name forever *at public expense*—give the measure of his philanthropic concern for the poor, the lowly, and the helpless. But alien by birth, alien through inborn sympathy, alien in the choice of Skibo Castle as his favorite residence, alien in his Lord Rectorship of St. Andrew's University, Edinburgh, alien in his Presidency of the British Institute of Iron and Steel Manufactures, and alien in his hateful pretense of American citizenship,—he has simply used, abused, and tyrannously taxed the

American people to enrich himself beyond the dreams of his own avarice.

"Oh, that mine adversary had written a book!"

And fortunately for "the plain people" for whom Lincoln lived and died; fortunately for the cause of equality before the law, this arch-enemy of Democracy has written several books! But I fancy he will think twice before he writes any more about "Democracy;" and when the historians of the future study his books and contemplate his liberality in libraries—erected to perpetuate his name forever *by taxing the people*—I think they will be prompted to go further and pry out the newspaper records of how he fled home to Scotland and made his managing partner, Mr. Frick, the catspaw and victim of that frightful Homestead strike—following closely upon the McKinley bill, which injured Carnegie's pocket interest. And then I know they will study the court records of that famous suit in which he sought, desperately but vainly, to deprive that same managing partner, Mr. Frick, of millions of money.

I am entirely sure, also, that the historians will have very much to say of the strategy and tactics Carnegie employed to prepare the way for the formation of the Steel Trust—first, by inspiring and badgering his partners with boasts of what he could do with the properties on the London Stock Exchange; and then by threatening, alarming, and bull-dozing his competitors into forming it.

"It was the determination of the Carnegie Company to build extensive works at Conneaut, duplicating the existing works of other companies, and the certainty that these companies would be compelled to duplicate some of the Carnegie mills, that precipitated the formation of the United States Steel Corporation."
—*New York Journal of Commerce.*

I am also sure that history's eager eyes will pry out the masterful legal argument submitted to the Court by Mr. Edward B. Whitney, of New York, in the famously ineffectual injunction suit to stop the conversion of $200,000,000 of preferred stock into $250,000,000 of second mortgage bonds—with an incidental commission of $10,000,000 to J. P. Morgan & Co.; and there they will find these statements:

"We have, however, one item of valuation which is clear enough to settle this case, and that is the valuation of the properties of the Carnegie Steel Company. It is admitted that the gross assets of that company were valued upon its books on December 31, 1899, at about $98,000,000, and its net assets at $75,610,104.06. It is not claimed that the properties subsequently acquired by that company and by its successor, the Carnegie Company, were worth more than $50,000,000. It is admitted that these assets were turned over by the Carnegie Company to the United States Steel Corporation at a valuation of $492,556,100. Here is an overvaluation of $344,000,000 on the single item of the Carnegie Company, and it will be remembered that the Carnegie Company got the best end of the transaction, since its share included the entire issue of first mortgage bonds.

The brief goes on to say that "naturally, a determined effort was made by the defendants in this suit to show that the book values were not the full, fair and accurate values of the Carnegie assets on December 31, 1899.

"What, then, were these book values? Were they fictitious undervaluations, mere statements of actual cost at a time when values bore no relation to the values of December 31, 1899, or

were they full, fair and accurate valuations at that date? We have the positive oath to the latter effect. They (Carnegie and others) join in testifying as follows:

"'We aver that the valuation of the assets as shown on said books and balance sheets is a full, fair and accurate valuation of the same, and that there has not been omitted from such books and balance sheets any assets which should properly find a place therein.' . . ."

Thus we see Carnegie the uncovered creator and chief beneficiary of the Steel Trust,—holding a first mortgage for hundreds of millions on all the property of his competitors, as well as his own property! And this he has done while warning investors and the public—before the event in the *Century Magazine* and after the event in his latest book,—in the following unmistakable words:

"It is not long since trusts first made their appearance, and already many have disappeared. Many still existing are being assailed, the names of which will readily occur to our readers. Only a few survive to-day, and none have secured the coveted monopoly. Most of the metals and many of the staple articles have been formed into trusts, which, although yet living, are rapidly being attacked to their final destruction. The press used to tell every morning of the organization of some trust or other, and even to-day we will hear of proposed additions to the list of these attempted gigantic monopolies, which enjoy a brief ephemeral existence.

"Already the ghosts of numerous departed trusts which aimed at monopolies have marched across the stage of human affairs, each pointing to its fatal wound, inflicted by that great corrective, competition. Like the ghosts of Macbeth's victims, the line promises to stretch longer and longer, and also like those phantoms of the brain, they 'come like shadows, so depart.'

"'The earth hath bubbles as the water hath,
And these are of them.'

"The only people who have reason to fear trusts are those who trust them . . . those foolish enough to go into them."

One brave NO from Mr. Carnegie would have made the Steel Trust impossible—as other Trusts have been made impossible in both America and England. But he had schemed, early and late, long and tirelessly, to get his grip on surplus millions wherewith to buy immortal "fame"; and, alas, he took the short cut—*regardless of consequences to others!*

"O wad some power the giftie gie us,
To see oursels as others see us.
It wad frae mony a blunder free us
And foolish notion."

—*Robert Burns.*

Mr. Carnegie is fond of quoting Shakespeare. But I think the evidence is clear that his greedy eyes have overlooked one vital penthrust from the immortal bard, which I now commend to his studious consideration—while there is yet time, before the final summons calls!

"The evil that men do lives after them;
The good, is oft interred with their bones."

Yet another solemn injunction—from an Author whom Carnegie never quotes, but from whom the wisest of men draw their noblest inspiration:

"When thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men."

Philanthropy is not alone admirable—it is *im-*

peratively necessary in these days of high Protection, frequent panics, increasing pauperism, and dinner-pail politics. Free libraries, free universities, free colleges, free hospitals, free summer homes, and free food, clothing, and fuel, in recurring seasons of industrial depression and dire distress—all these things afford Protection-fed and monopoly-made millionaires large opportunity to pose as princely givers and noble "benefactors" of mankind. Precisely the same thing happened in Rome. Indeed, the patrician nobles of the Augustan era threw our moneyed "aristocracy" quite into the shade. Mark Antony, so Mr. Marion Crawford tells us, squandered and gave away in his short life-time the equivalent of four billions ($4,000,000,000) of dollars! And what were the consequences in Rome? Let Dr. John Fiske, America's foremost historian, give answer:

"Historians have been fond of showing how the vitality of the whole (Roman) system was impaired by wholesale slave-labor, by the false political economy which taxes all for the benefit of a few, by the debauching view of civil office which regards it as a private perquisite and not as public trust, and —worst of all, perhaps—by the communistic practice of feeding an idle proletariat out of the imperial treasury. The names of these deadly social evils are not unfamiliar to American ears.

"Your nation may have art, poetry, and science, all the refinements of civilized life, all the comforts and safeguards that human ingenuity can devise; but if it lose the spirit of personal and local independence, it is doomed and deserves its doom.

"The gravest dangers are those which present themselves in new forms, against which people's minds have not yet been fortified with traditional sentiments and phrases. The inherited pre-

datory tendency of men to seize upon the fruits of other people's labor is still very strong, and while we have nothing more to fear from kings, we may yet have trouble enough from commercial monopolies and favored industries, marching to the polls their hordes of bribed retainers. Well indeed has it been said that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

We are not in Rome. We have no intention of permitting Roman history to repeat itself. And it is just about time for aspiring politicians, in office and out of it, to realize that millions of free men and free women in America, who spurn charity, who buy their own books, who do their own thinking, and who are quite able to take care of themselves, are now fully alive to the fact that the source of our ills is too much Protection, too much Paternalism, and far too much need for Philanthropy *in wholesale chunks of ill-gotten millions which are absolutely useless to the givers.* And after my readers have followed me through later chapters, I am very sure that many, and I trust all of them, will agree that a man who preaches the virtue of poverty for other people, while pocketing millions for himself through Protection legislation, personifies that gangrene of blind greed which has poisoned American political life—precisely as it first poisoned and then destroyed heathen Rome.

"Glory built
On selfish principles, is shame and guilt."
—*Cowper.*

And of Carnegie, more anon!

I put Rockefeller second in rank, because the Trusts have followed Protection as darkness fol-

lows day—Because we have Havemeyer's word for it that "the Tariff is the Mother of Trusts" —Because Rockefeller has taught, by precept and example, that combinations "are a necessity" —Because the Trust is the one needful device which has enabled the Protection promoters to stagger the world with the magnitude of their godless gain, to spread industrial depression and dread of the future throughout all Europe, and to make thoughtful men the world over stop and wonder whether our free institutions will be equal to the strain.

And of all living men this silent, secretive, and masterful organizer of monopoly is the spectral genius of this Trust-threatened age. Witness here the pen-picture drawn by a daring young woman, now steadily at work:*

"'The ability with which he made the smallest bargain furnishes topics to Cleveland story-tellers to-day. Low-voiced, soft-footed, humble, knowing every point in every man's business, he never tired until he got his wares at the lowest possible figure. 'John always got the best of the bargain,' old men tell you in Cleveland to-day, and they wince though they laugh in telling it. 'Smooth,' 'a *savy* fellow,' is their description of him. To drive a good bargain was the joy of his life. 'The only time I ever saw John Rockefeller enthusiastic,' a man told the writer once, 'was when a report came in from the Creek that his buyer had secured a cargo of oil at a figure much below the market price. He bounded from his chair with a shout of joy, danced up and down, hugged me, threw up his hat, acted so like a madman that I have never forgotten it.'"

The fruitful parent of all the Trusts that have ever yet been formed, and are still forming—is the Standard Oil Company. That is not only the

*Ida M. Tarbell, in *McClure's Magazine*.

oldest of them all, but it is the most powerful aggregation of capital and business capacity ever drawn together in any line of industry outside railway operations. Marvellous in the perfection of its organization, invincible in its strength, astonishing in its boasted economies of production, and more astonishing in the pretended low prices at which its products are marketed—it is the one model from which every argument in support of the Trust idea has been drawn. And so often and so furiously has it been attacked by press and pulpit, by Congress, by State legislatures, and by reformers of every kind and degree, that many very able men have come to look upon it as a thing which must endure because of the essential soundness of the principles upon which it is builded.

But the secrets of its strength are perfectly obvious to men trained in economic thought; its astonishing success carries fascination only for minds "more intent upon private gain than public policy;" and now we shall see, gaunt and bare, the very bone structure of the wonder-working monopoly.

In the first place, crude petroleum is a natural product. The supply is limited rigidly by the flow from known oil fields—while the demand *is without limit,* if the price be made low enough to induce consumption. The simple problem with which Rockefeller and his associates have to deal, therefore, is to get control in each new oil field as it develops—To get hold of the supply *at any cost;* and then compensate themselves by arbitrarily fixing the prices that the public *must* pay. In other words, "to corner oil"—which is pre-

cisely what they have been doing systematically, and by devious and shameless methods, for nearly thirty years.

Beyond this, both crude and refined oil are large in bulk, and their conveyance from the oil fields to various points of manufacture, and then again to consumers in every part of the world, makes the item of transportation enormously important—so important in fact, that, having command of this enormous volume of freight, they were for many years in position to actually dictate terms to competing railway lines. The sums thus saved through secret "rebates" and "drawbacks" on their own shipments—and the shipments of their competitors in business as well—mount into millions of dollars, and furnish one of the most scandalous chapters in American railway history.

But murder will out. The sensation caused a few years ago by the public disclosure of this rebate system, forced them to abandon it as a means of crushing "the oil producer—the man to whom the world owes the business," as old Tom Scott graphically and truthfully described the heroic characters, past and present, who have faced every hardship, have assumed every risk, and have actually done, *and are still doing*, the pioneer work necessary to increase this supply of Nature's generous bounty.

And now let judges, legislators, prosecuting attorneys, preachers, teachers, newspaper editors, and reformers, one and all, take due note of this speaking piece of testimony from Rockefeller

himself—*at last in cold print!*— before the Industrial Commission, in defense of "industrial combinations."

"We soon discovered as the business grew that the primary method of transporting oil in barrels could not last. The package often cost more than the contents, and the forests of the country were not sufficient to supply the material for an extended length of time. Hence we devoted attention to other methods of transportation, adopted the pipe line system, and found capital for pipe line construction equal to the necessities of the business. To operate pipe lines *required franchises from States in which they were located,* and consequently corporations in those States, *just as railroads running through different States* are forced to operate *under separate charters.* To perfect the pipe line system of transportation required in the neighborhood of $50,000 000 of capital. This could not be obtained or maintained without industrial combination.

"*The entire oil business* is dependent upon *this pipe line system.* Without it every well would be shut down, every foreign market would be closed to us. The pipe line system required other improvements, such as tank cars upon railways, and finally the tank steamer. Capital had to be furnished for them, and corporations created to own and operate them. Every step taken was necessary in the business if it was to be properly developed."

There we have the secret, clearly exposed! The people have granted these franchises. The people have authorized the building of these pipe lines over private property. The people have permitted these men to monopolize, to their exclusive use, this marvellous means of cheap transportation. In short, it is the representatives of the people in State legislatures (especially in Pennsylvania, where Quay presides) who have placed the oil producers and the oil consumers at the mercy of these multi-millionaires!

Americans are fond of boasting our many

thousands of miles of railroads, which we have builded since the Civil War; and public-spirited citizens, for a generation past, have been active and eager in demanding that the people shall enjoy the benefits of fair and equal rates for railroad transportation. As a result, we created the Inter-State Commerce Commission many years ago; and we are wide-awake to the necessity for regulating freight rates. But how many men are awake to the significance, the extent, and the priceless value of this newer means of cheap transportation for petroleum oil? So few are awake, that the Standard Oil Company has enriched its beneficiaries beyond their wildest dreams. And they have become so rich that already they are reaching out, in ignorant greed, to control nothing less than our national government through the United States Senate. But for this insufferable and idle scheme, let us await the next chapter.

The many thousands of miles of pipe line transportation already in existence, and now planned and building, may be inferred from the following item which I clip from the *New York Herald* as I write:

"It is learned that the Standard Oil Company has made plans for the construction of eight hundred miles of new pipe lines for the transmission of oil. Part of this great construction work has been completed; some in West Virginia, Ohio, and in California. The work is being done by subsidiary companies. According to the *Chronicle* several of these pipe lines are of unusual importance.

"The Cumberland Pipe Line Company has completed a pipe line of six-inch pipe from Parkersburg, W. Va., to Manchester, London, and Somerset in eastern Kentucky, and branch lines

leading into nearby oil fields. The plans include the construction of three hundred and fifteen miles of pipe in Kentucky, to cost $1,000,000.

"Under the charter of the East Ohio Gas Company, a pipe line extending from the West Virginia oil fields to Cleveland, about two hundred miles long, has been constructed. In California, the Pacific Coast Oil Company, another subsidiary, is now finishing 278 miles of eight inch pipe, which will carry oil from the great Kern fields to San Francisco.

"The *Chronicle* also says that the Standard Oil Company now controls more than one-half of the fine burning oil output of the country."

Some measure of the enormous profits that the beneficiaries of the monopoly are drawing from the consumers of oil, may be gathered from the following statement of dividends paid, which I also clip from the *New York Herald* as I write—while the people of the Atlantic seaboard cities are suffering for lack of coal, while it is selling at retail for double and treble the normal price, while the Salvation Army is distributing asbestos bricks saturated with oil, and while platoons of policemen are needed at the coal yards to keep long lines of men, women, and children, in order as they struggle and wait for an opportunity to buy, and themselves carry off, a scuttle, a bag, a pail, or a baby carriage filled with coal:

STANDARD OIL'S GREAT DIVIDENDS.

1897	$33,000,000
1898	30,000,000
1899	33,000,000
1900	48,000,000

1901		$48,000,000
1902—1st quarter	$20,000,000	
2d quarter	10,000,000	
3d quarter	5,000,000	
4th quarter	10,000,000	45,000,000
Total for last six years		$237,000,000
On a capital stock of		$100,000,000

Oil has gone up a cent or more a gallon. The scarcity of coal drove the people to using gas stoves in increasing quantities. Similarly the sale of oil stoves increased tremendously last fall and this winter. Then the manufacturers were unable to deliver gas stoves in sufficient quantity to meet the fast growing demand, and simultaneously the Standard Oil Company came forward with a new wickless burner and disposed of thousands of additional oil stoves and heaters.

Then the experiment of burning oil for fuel on locomotives and steamships turned out successfully. The Southern Pacific Railway, the Hawaiian Steamship Company and a company running steamers from Texas to New York followed suit, and other customers heretofore not reached made a new market.

Two weeks ago the Standard Oil Company advanced the price to jobbers a cent a gallon. This means an increase in income of $8,000,000 annually on sales in the United States alone, as the Oil Trust controls 80 per cent. of all the petroleum produced in this country.

The Standard Oil Company dividends for this year amount to $45,000,000, or 45 per cent., on a capital of $100,000,000. The quarterly dividends have been 20, 10, 5 and 10 per cent. respectively. On December 15 the dividends for the last quarter will be paid. Last year, and in 1900 also, the dividends amounted to 48 per cent., but this year an enormous sum has been expended in "betterments," that is, buying new properties in Texas and elsewhere and in building new vessels for the carrying trade.

Thus the latest increase in cost to local consumers may be understood as tending to equalize the returns to the stockholders to the normal figures of 1901 and 1900. To the average householder it means that a gallon of kerosene oil will cost from twelve to thirteen and a half cents a gallon hereafter, unless the oil magnates should decide upon another squeeze.

At one of the largest department stores, where two thousand oil stoves were sold last month it was said yesterday that they were paying thirteen and a half cents a gallon for oil by the barrel. In Harlem grocers were selling a gallon at twelve cents in some places and twelve and a half cents in other places.

—*New York Herald, Dec. 13, 1902.*

Two weeks later yet another advance of one cent per gallon was exacted, making a total advance of four cents. Thus we see the realism of that philosophy of modern business management which enables our first and greatest combination to "reduce prices to the consumer." And just how they captured the Texas oil field is graphically indicated by these clippings from the New York *American*—whose young editor, though befogged by the theory of "government ownership," is yet splendidly fearless in publishing the facts:

ROCKEFELLER GETS TEXAS OIL FIELDS.

Bought up all of the wharves and shipping facilities of Port Arthur, the nearest deep-water port to the famous fields.

Purchased ninety thousand acres of land, surrounding Port Arthur.

Bought all the railroads leading from the Beaumont fields to Port Arthur.

Cut off the Beaumont fields from the oil market, and placed it in a position to make terms with Standard Oil.

Bought ninety per cent. of the interests in the Beaumont Oil Fields, besides acquiring a vast amount of territory around Beaumont, including the Sour Lake oil wells.

Another feeler is reaching toward the Bakersfield oil fields in California.

Fuel oil forced up $1 a barrel.
Standard Oil forced up 4c. a gallon.
Standard stock sent up $36 a share.

THE ROCKEFELLER METHOD.

"You take the risk; we do the rest," is Rockefeller's motto,

and he has never departed from it since the first day of the Standard Oil business. He has stood by while others expended millions developing oil fields. Naturally, most of the money thus expended has been lost in unprofitable ventures. Rockefeller has always ignored the companies that failed, and seized the successes.

John M. Wright, president of the Peerless, expressed the utmost satisfaction at the result of the negotiations with the Standard Oil people.

Mr. Wright was asked if the Standard Oil Company intends to control the oil product of California.

"I have no doubt," he answered, "that the Standard intends to control not only the oil product of California, but the oil business of the United States. That they can accomplish this purpose is unquestionable. They have no competition and they can have no opposition. Owners of oil wells had to sell, and the Standard Oil Company was the only market available."

—*New York American, Dec. 29, 1902.*

What of the dividends from the subsidiary companies, and the outside investments sprung from the parent monopoly? That will make a most interesting subject of inquiry for a Congressional committee of investigation; and I fancy the newspapers will give us some racy reading when the good work begins.

And what is the remedy?

Open their books, as we long ago learned the necessity for opening the books of the banks and insurance companies—

Open their books, as we have been vainly trying for twenty years past to make the railway monopolists open their books—

Open their books, that the courageous and independent oil producers may make sure of enjoying

precisely the same rates of pipe-line transportation that the monopolists have long enjoyed exclusively—

Open their books, that expert oil refiners, with ample capital and eager readiness for the business, may prove that oil for lighting and heating the homes of the people can be sold at a profit for probably half the price the monopolists have always exacted —

Open their books, that the world may learn that crude petroleum is so rich a bounty—is composed of so many valuable elements—that its by-products alone (naphtha, gasoline, paraffine, vaseline, benzine, etc., etc.) have been yielding handsome dividends on the entire cash capital of the company for years past—have in fact become so important and profitable that oil refining would still be profitable if lamp oil were given away.

Open their books, that men of business may plainly see that such unheard-of profits are unknown to legitimate manufacturing industry, subject to free competition—

Open their books, that deluded converts to the "combination" idea may now have proof that the baneful teaching of these wily monopolists is directly responsible for the whole brood of stock-jobbing schemes and "blind pools" which have disgraced Wall Street in recent years; which have deceived honest investors; which have brought discredit upon American banking interests; and which are now crowding the courts with injunction suits, damage suits, receiverships and bankruptcy proceedings—

Open their books, that patriots and freemen

may now fully realize the danger of permitting this formidable group of multi-millionaires to go on with their work of monopolizing copper mines, iron mines, lead mines, coal fields, steamship lines, railway systems, and banking facilities. For monopolize them all they surely will; and the millions they already command, with the combinations they have formed and are still forming, are the effective instruments with which their daring ends will be compassed.

But enough. I have laid bare the very bone structure of this sin-breeding monopoly. I have pointed straight to the corrective remedy which will rob it of all its power, render it subservient to the public need—and in the process, not give its managers the shadow of an excuse for shutting down even one of its factories for a single hour.

And if there be those who see the pressing need for a closer study of the subject, let me pay a deserved tribute to courageous womanhood by earnestly recommending a careful reading of the fascinating, authentic, and heroically-written history of the Standard Oil Company, by Miss Ida M. Tarbell, lately published serially in *McClure's Magazine*.

I place Morgan third in rank, because it is only in recent years that he has loomed large in the public eye; and, obviously, his function as financier of "industrial combinations," is simply the logical outcome of the teaching and preparatory work of the other men. In other words, Carnegie needed and used his high credit and great daring to reap from the investing public a har-

vest of hundreds of millions in first mortgage gold bonds; and in like manner Rockefeller still needs him for the steady work of combining railway systems and steamship lines with our great stores of natural wealth in coal mines, iron mines, copper mines, and lead mines—Nature's bounty to mankind! Vain of his power and influence, eager for supreme leadership, and still more eager for the hundreds of millions which the work of promotion yields himself and his partners, Morgan has plunged into "industrials" with a reckless daring which staggers the level-headed and conservative financiers of both America and Europe.

In his personality we plainly see the boldness and daring of Hamilton, the financier; the aristocratic pride of Biddle, the banker; the ages-old arrogance of wealth and power; and blended with these, a dashing faculty for organization and coercion which he renders potent and quickly effective, through a transparent policy of wholesale liberality to both victors and vanquished in the allotment of millions of heavily watered stock—which he straightway markets to the investing public!

And it is because he is straightforward, blunt, and bold; it is because his word is as good as his bond among Wall Street bankers and promoters; it is because his followers are loyal and his rivals ever ready to treat with him; and especially because he lends himself and his high credit to deep schemers like Carnegie and Rockefeller, that he is to-day one of the most demoralizing forces in American public life.

For we must not forget that Wall Street now sits supreme over the management and market value of every great franchise that the people have granted for public utilities—railroads, street railways, gas and electric light companies, water works, telegraph and telephone rights, mining charters for coal, iron, copper, lead and other necessities of the people; and in these latter days, even the stocks and bonds of "infant industries" which since the war have been so tenderly fostered by the Morrill bill, the McKinley bill, and the Dingley bill.

We must not forget that "community of interest" is the magic wand, the new-found device, wherewith these mighty millionaires, these princely patrons of libraries, churches, universities, and hospitals, are to harmonize all competing interests in the conduct of these vast enterprises—to the end, as we are told, that America may be supreme on land and sea, and that "the plain people" may buy cheaper, live better, and earn higher wages than any other people under the sun!

But I, for one at least, can not forget that in the early days of Republican misrule, when Credit Mobilier, the Star Route frauds, and the Whiskey Ring were the sensations of the day, the polite term "community of interest" was then phrased in rough and ready fashion as "the cohesive power of public plunder."

I can not forget that it was Jim Blaine of Maine—Carnegie's intimate friend—who "cast an anchor to windward" and barely saved Protection from defeat in 1880, by introducing the now-familiar program of loudly proclaiming Prosper-

ity, of savagely threatening the people with another panic, and of trickily foisting upon the public that serviceable subterfuge, that Blaine-like mockery of tariff reform—Reciprocity!

I freely maintain that Protection is the very basis and beginning of these "industrial combinations"—That Carnegie, Rockefeller, Morgan, and their imitators on a lesser scale, have simply capitalized into billions of interest-bearing bonds and dividend-carrying shares the fabulous profits which Protection makes possible—And that all these profits are drawn straight from the pockets of the American people, in the form of extortionate prices for all the materials of home manufacture, and burdensome prices for all the necessaries of living in the home.

In proof of this, I cite the enormous advances in the prices of iron and steel, of tin plate and wire nails, of lead and copper, of chemicals and drugs, of hides and leather, of coal and coal oil, of beef and mutton, of woolens and dress-goods —the prices of every material that enters into home manufacture, as well as household consumption—the prices of each and every article controlled by a Trust! And outrage of all others assuredly the worst, I cite the sworn testimony before the Industrial Commission as to the low prices at which these same combinations sell their products to *foreign* manufacturers and *foreign* consumers!

I refuse to forget that sworn testimony in the courts avers that a fair valuation of all the properties merged into the Steel Trust would be $300,000,000. If that be true, then its stupendous

capitalization of One Billion Four Hundred Millions of Dollars ($1,400,000,000) gives the measure of the "watered-stock" upon which American consumers of iron and steel are expected to pay interest and dividends. And its widely heralded net profits, now averaging One Hundred and Forty Million Dollars per annum ($140,000,000), give the measure of the extortionate prices that Americans have been forced to pay through Protection legislation, which shuts out foreign producers; and through "restricted production," which enabled Morgan to boast that in forming the Steel Trust he had "saved" $150,000,000 *then about to be expended* for building new furnaces, new mills, and new factories *to supply the increased demand.*

I refuse to forget that when this stupendous volume of watered-stock was about to be offered to the investing public, the effective criticism and the startling facts published daily in the New York papers gravely endangered the success of the mammoth flotation. Then suddenly a flaming prospectus appeared as an advertisement in all the critical New York newspapers. It occupied column after column of space; it was inserted at full card rates with no discounts or rebates asked; and day after day, for weeks of time, it ran on "until forbid" orders from J. P. Morgan & Co. Small wonder that the criticism ceased! Small wonder that the business managers of these newspapers were able to persuade the editors that investors in Wall Street "industrials" are, or ought to be, quite able to take care of themselves.

Again, when the recent coal strike was at its

crisis; when the people of the Eastern cities were in imminent peril of a coal famine in winter; when even the Chief Magistrate of the Nation had appealed vainly to the coal barons to grant some slight concession—then it was that Morgan once more made Barnum-like use of the newspapers and associated press despatches, to brazenly announce that he had placed an order for 50,000 tons of coal in England, and that every fleet vessel in the new shipping combine would at once be employed for transporting that English coal to New York. Thus, by a master-stroke of "combination" finance, the shares of the Shipping Trust were to be popularized, while the sturdy miners were to be starved into submission!

It is indeed well worthy of careful note by thinking Americans that this daring promoter of combinations has a very substantial appreciation of the power of the press in shaping public opinion—as shown by his ownership of a great publishing house issuing numerous and very influential weekly and monthly periodicals; as shown by his financial control of at least two of the leading New York daily papers; and as shown by the rumor that himself and "community-of-interest" associates are the real purchasers of the two great newspaper properties which recently changed hands in Philadelphia.

And now, reader, take careful note!

For here is where I want thinking men, with the money-making faculty and the rare gift of foresight, to stop short in the mad rush for millions, that they may do a little thinking for their

children; for their grandchildren; and for the generations of American freemen who are to come after us.

It must not be supposed that this spectacular work of recent years represents the central purpose, and the moving ambition, of the man who has been aptly described as our Napoleon of Finance. No, no; Mr. Morgan is *facile princeps* a railroad financier. It was in the reorganization of bankrupted railroad properties that he won his spurs and garnered his first millions. The work which now engages his best energies, his highest powers, and all the influence of the millions massed behind his leadership, is that of combining, consolidating, and tightly controlling the great railroad systems of the country! The Steel Trust, the Coal Trust, and the Shipping Trust are mere feeders and outlets for the main scheme of monopoly. The clear purpose, the definite aim, and the ceaseless effort of himself and all his followers, *is to get a tight grip on the very arteries of the Nation's commerce and industry*—TO USE THE RAILROADS FOR CONTROLLING OUR PRINCIPAL MINING, MANUFACTURING AND SHIPPING INDUSTRIES, PRECISELY AS THE STANDARD OIL CROWD USE THE PIPE LINES.

"In 1901 I heard the details of a plan by capitalists to bring the soft coal and the anthracite together into one common organization. I asked how it was possible to control the thousand loosely scattered bituminous mines. He (an operator) answered, "Simply because we have got the railroads. Through railroad control we have got the anthracite where *no independent operator can trouble us a bit.* To control the soft coal is of course far more difficult, but it is not difficult if we have, *as we shall have,* proper control of transportation." —*John Graham Brooks.*

Witness the Northern Securities combine—which was squarely balked by the initiative of plucky and puissant Minnesota! Witness the recent sensational absorption of the Louisville and Nashville into Morgan's net-work of Southern roads. Witness the compact organization, in flagrant violation of both State and national laws, of all the anthracite coal roads. Observe, also, that the Baltimore and Ohio, the Norfolk and Western, the Chesapeake and Ohio, and the Long Island railroads, have all very lately been merged into the Pennsylvania system. Group with these the Vanderbilt, the Gould, and the Harriman systems—and we plainly see that through "community of interest," and through Morgan's effective methods of persuasion and coercion, it is already possible for a small group of men to meet in secret conclave in a Wall Street parlor, and there decide, for good or ill, questions of supremest importance to the industry, the commerce, the banking facilities, and the political policies of the whole American people—*Actually decide for peace or war,* should an occupant of the White House be a man of war-like temper and bold ambition! For bold men are alike the world over; and we have lately been witnesses to the frightful fact that a small group of diamond mining magnates and gold mining millionaires in South Africa, first aroused the patriotism of the British people, and then led them headlong into a death-dealing and awful war!

As I write our danger point is Venezuela. Probably a little later it will be Brazil; and we have Cuba, Manila, and Pekin as magazines of

political dynamite, ever ready for the explosive spark. Naval battles, also, are picturesque, inspiring, and inexpensive in point of men and money as compared with war on land. To divert attention from home affairs; to check-mate an uprising of working men; or to carry a doubtful presidential election,—there will be no lack of opportunity for a stirring appeal to patriotism to rise in defense of "home industries" and our national pride.

RHODES'S REASONS FOR THE RAID.

LONDON, March 27 (1902).—Cecil Rhodes never publicly avowed the reasons why he organized the Jameson raid. They are now set forth in his own words by one of his biographers, who quotes Mr. Rhodes as saying:

"There were three reasons. In the first place, I found that old Krüger was an insuperable obstacle to the union of South Africa, even for commercial purposes and for the development of the country. I tried him in every way I could on what you may call Afrikander principles, but it was of no use, and so long as he ruled the Transvaal the brake was put on all progress in South Africa.

The second reason was that there was an English-speaking minority opposed to Krüger, but at least as much opposed to seeing South Africa under the British flag. That was then a small minority, but a growing one, and if left to develop it would have become a majority. When the hour came to get rid of Krüger, that would have balked the policy for which I had struggled all my life—to make South Africa an integral part of the British Empire.

"The third reason was: You cannot make revolutions in these days without money, and *I had at my command at that time a combination of millionaires ready to support me whom I might never be able to get together again.*"

—*New York Sun.*

Our situation, in naked reality, is the net result of the British system of finance and the discarded

British system of Protection, to which Alexander Hamilton, a native-born British subject, made us heir. For we have no less an authority than Gouverneur Morris, the life-long and chosen friend who preached the funeral sermon over Hamilton's dead body, for this statement:

"General Hamilton had little share in forming the Constitution. He disliked it, *believing all republican government to be radically defective.* He heartily assented, nevertheless, to the Constitution; because he considered it a band which *might* hold us together *for some time,* and he knew that national sentiment is the offspring of national existence. He trusted, moreover, that *in the changes and chances of time,* we should *be involved in some war* which might strengthen our union and nerve the executive."

And since Hamilton, the British statesman, gave us Protection; and since Carnegie, the British pretender, has made us pay Protection's penalties, let us now turn to a British aristocrat for an estimate of the possibilities of our system of railroad finance.

The late Duke of Marlborough, a very able man, was an interested student of American industrial development. He visited us often; and he found here so much of feminine loveliness to lure him, that he took a handsome American heiress as his wife. Profiting by precept and example the young Duke followed in the father's footsteps. He came, he saw, and he was conquered—the newspaper reporting his marriage settlement at $10,000,000. And thus the House of Vanderbilt was allied to the House of Marlborough.

The late Duke visited us in the winter of 1890-91, and writing home to the *Fortnightly Review,*

for April, 1891, he had this to say of the possibilities of our system of railroad management:

"There is nothing to control the amount of share capital a group of promoters may print. They print what they please, and they issue it as the public will buy it in the market on the speculation that it is going to receive a dividend, or that the voting value of the stock is worth so much for the purpose of obtaining a control of the system.

"There is, in fact, no limit to the power of a small ring in the United States who have succeeded in obtaining a control of one of the big through systems of communication; and the control once obtained, it is a simple question of time when they will be able to swallow up everything within their reach.

"The people who are really to be wondered at, however, are the citizens of the United States, who continue to permit such a gigantic political abuse as this American railway monopoly to grow up as it is doing in the hands of a group of gigantic capitalists in New York and other great towns of America . . . . that the American public, which prides itself on its democratic institutions, should have allowed this aristocracy to grow up in in its midst, which is daily becoming infinitely more powerful and infinitely more dangerous than all the feudal aristocracies of Europe put together. It was easy to get rid of the European difficulty with the guillotine, as the French did, without tearing up the foundations of all social life in the country itself. In America this financial and railway aristocracy is slowly building itself into the very bone and sinew of the people, and it will be a very difficult twentieth-century problem to know how Congress is going to deal with the matter.

"No one who has been to America can fail to be struck with the vastness of the railway interest of that country. It represents the very life and lungs of trade, and at the same time is the predominant factor in preserving political unity of interests between States separated by thousands of miles of intervening plains, rivers, and mountains. The management as well as the mismanagement of these vast systems is one of the marvels of that great continent.

"These systems must continue to grow to meet the wants of increasing population and the large centres of permanent indus-

try and manufacture that exist everywhere. It must be noted, however, that the great main arteries of these systems are now permanently marked out. It will be practically impossible to make new main routes, except at fabulous cost, with approaches to the coast. The strategical positions are seized and occupied, and whoever can possess himself to-day of a controlling interest in a main through route and allied feeders across the great central basin of the Northern States cannot be deprived of a gigantic monopoly in the present and in the future."

It was a Triumvirate of very able men who rose above the chaos and civil strife of the Roman Republic, and who gave it what they called order, what they called Prosperity.

Then it was that the golden age of Augustus was ushered in; and then it was that the wealth of Rome became fabulous beyond compare—when vast temples, magnificent palaces, and superb public gardens adorned the great city of two million inhabitants; when exquisite villas and terraced gardens of surpassing beauty lined either bank of the Tiber; when rich men vied with each other in drawing about them the poets, the philosophers, the teachers, and the art treasures of once-glorious Greece; and when Rome, mistress of the world, boasted herself the chief patron of learning, of literature, of science, of patriotism, of all that makes for the fullness and sweetness of life.

But it all ended in utter ruin and desolation!

And it ended so—because the people lost their liberties; because men were enslaved to the service of their rulers; and because the patrician families neither knew nor worshipped any other god than mammon!

I am not in the least afraid that our money-mad

millionaires can do the American people any lasting injury. I do not share any one of the grave apprehensions which the Duke voices for timid men who take no time to study the forces which move society. I know that publicity has already shown us a complete and permanent solution of our financial problem—the most vital of all our problems! I know that publicity will light the way for the easy and lasting solution of every difficulty that confronts us in railway management and corporation finance. And this firm faith I feel because it was my rare good fortune as a little boy, in the tented camps of the heroes of our Union's cause, to catch the spell of moving tales that told of the virtue, the valor, and the glory of an appeal to manly Courage. Small wonder that I early learned to scout the Scare game. Less wonder still that long ago I learned to place abiding trust in our millions of fighting freemen, bred of soldier fathers and born of patriot mothers, who stand ever watchful and ready "at the call of the laws to fly to the standard of the law" —in defence of that EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW, that precious heritage of free citizenship, for which our fathers, in successive generations through three long and bloody centuries, have freely given their lives, their fortunes, their all!

"Our citizens may be deceived for a while, and have been deceived; but as long as the press can be protected, we trust them for light."

"In a government bottomed on the will of all, the life and liberty of every individual citizen becomes interesting to all."

"I have no fear but that the result of our experiment will be that men may be trusted to govern themselves without a master."

"I ever fondly cherished the interests of the West, relying on it as a barrier against the degeneracy of public opinion from our original and free principles."

"The last hope of human liberty in this world rests on us. We ought, for so dear a state, to sacrifice every attachment, every enmity." —*Thomas Jefferson.*

If now a few thinking Americans will recall a little of Roman history, and a great deal of American history, as our Revolutionary fathers recalled them in their day; I think they will quickly see that the first duty of this hour is to learn just what should be done, just how it can be done—and then straightway get about the doing!

THE POLITICAL MACHINE AT WORK.

But hark! the bugles blowing on the peaks,
And hark! a murmur as of many feet.
The cry of captains, the divine alarm!
Look, the last Son of Time comes hurrying on,
The strong young Titan of Democracy!
With swinging step he takes the open road,
In love with the winds that beat his hairy breast.
Baring his sunburnt strength to all the world,
He casts his eye around with Jovian glance;
Searches the tracks of old Tradition; scans
With rebel heart the books of Pedigree;
Peers in the face of Privilege, and cries,
"Why are you halting in the path of man?
Is it your shoulder bears the human load?
Do you draw down the rains of heaven,
And keep the green things growing? Back to hell!"

—*Edwin Markham.*

"Let us have faith that right makes might; and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it."

—*Abraham Lincoln*

"I believe that in the twentieth century, which is now near its dawn, the spirit of commercialism will steadily grow less strong and the spirit of altruism stronger. I believe that the rule, do unto others as you would have others do unto you, will more generally prevail than in all the centuries which have gone before.

"If I am mistaken in this—if the spirit of commercialism and greed continues to grow stronger—then the twentieth century will witness a social cataclysm unparalleled in history. It is only by the discountenancing of commercialism and the spreading of altruism that we can safeguard justice, property and liberty."

—*Abram S. Hewitt.*

Chapter II.

We know the men who rule.

Now let us lay bare the transparent motives of the politicians who shout Protection, who threaten panic, who insist that we "let well enough

alone''—but who, all the while, are voting the people's money straight into the pockets of the Trust-promoting millionaires.

It is quite the fashion nowadays to exhaust the vocabulary of invective in furious abuse of our political buccaneers—the modern free-booters who make a business of corrupt politics—the men who manage the party machinery, control the primaries, dispense the little offices, and handle the corruption funds in popular elections. Notorious by name and scandalous in methods, they are standing targets for newspaper attack—convenient scapegoats for the rich men by whom they are employed! But obviously they are an effect, not a cause. They exist because millionaires pay fabulous prices to install their servants in the Senate. They are needed to lobby Protection legislation through both houses of Congress. They are steadily employed to control and corrupt State legislatures in the interest of great corporations. They are richly rewarded for bribing City Councils and manipulating city franchises. And seeing how men of wealth and power and position enrich themselves by corruption and special legislation—they simply scoff at public opinion, bottle conscience, and neither know nor profess any other gospel than to ''look out for my own pocket all the time.''

No, no; I shall waste very little ammunition upon the scape-goats—For I know, and all the world is fast finding out, that the millionaires are the men who dictate the party policy, who write the platforms, and who freely dispense great honors, high offices, and priceless Wall Street in-

formation to able and ambitious men—provided always that they pledge themselves to unswerving support of "Protection to home industries." And among the politicians as among the millionaires, I select to place responsibility where responsibility belongs—Upon the able men of high standing, great influence, and great opportunities, who, to hold office and win political "honors," openly lend themselves to the party managers and the party policy which the Trust promoters dictate.

First and foremost among these is the strenuous gentleman in the White House—the courageous reformer who deals in so many fine phrases of civic virtue, but who in action, *and especially in halted action,* obediently does the bidding of his scheming party managers. Fond of posing as a broncho-buster and a rough-rider—to corral the Western vote; fond of entertaining negroes in the White House—to capture Southern and New England delegations to the next national convention; and amusingly fond of dramatic attitudes upon all possible occasions—he speaks like a hero when he *talks* of Cuba, when he *promises* publicity, and when he *threatens* the Trusts. But finally driven into the open, finally forced to declare himself upon the tariff question as related to Trusts, he staggers brave men who were tempted to admire and trust him, by shamelessly avowing from the public platform that "the question of regulating the Trusts with a view to minimizing and abolishing the evils existent in them *is separate and apart from the question of tariff revision.*"

And this from a man who began his career as an ardent free trader, an active member of the Cobden Club!

Small wonder that Carnegie comes back from his Skibo estates to give the newspaper reporters this message for the public:

"I think the President is exactly right on the trusts. He goes neither to one extreme nor the other. 'The golden mean is the path of wisdom,' said Confucius. Trusts cannot entail any permanent injury upon the country. America is in a transitional period. Great aggregations of capital are necessary now. They are the creations of the nation. The Government can regulate them—spank the bad ones, and pat the good ones on the back.

"All trusts are not bad. All trusts are not good. We must discriminate."

Note the quotation from the heathen philosopher. Recall the Chinese wall of tariff duties which the Republican party has builded to "protect" Mr. Carnegie's American domains. Then read this indictment of our heroic reform President from the pen of the dean of the New York press—the venerable but ever-ready and courageous editor of *The Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin:*

"The trial of the Trust issue before public opinion can hardly be said to be progressing satisfactorily. True, the great body of public complainants are no less resolute than they have been, but certainly more so. The defenders, however, are assuming a craftiness of attitude which is anything but assuring. The opening of Congress leaves no doubt that the party in power stands committed to the monopolistic cause.

"Much more serious in its significance is the attitude of the President's Message. For the first time, Mr. Roosevelt has shown himself capable of yielding his will to the behests of party leaders. His itinerant addresses had been enthusiastically welcomed

as evidence that the party of capital has fallen under the challenge of a statesman who has the courage and the prudence to impose restraints upon the threatening ambitions of his party. This attitude had won for him a position of strength in both parties which made him the strongest man in the country and placed his re-election within easy reach. Strange to say, his late Message casts to the winds the ascendancy he had so marvelously won and, by yielding to the remonstrances of party leaders, he has surrendered his political ascendancy, sacrificed his reputation for courage, subjected himself to the dictation of partisans of low morale and disappointed the rising hope of the country that at last it had found a savior on whom it might depend for averting the dangerous drifts of the times. The President's new allusions to the Trusts are so gingerly, so evasive and so inexplicit as to leave it quite uncertain how much or how little he means, and it is no longer safe to count upon him as an effective factor in the settlement of this question.

"This is far from being an assuring situation. It implies one of two things,—either that the Republican leaders are ignorant of the growing anger of the public against the monopolies, or that, whilst well aware of this popular hostility, they are resolved to stand by the infinitesimal millionaire minority and disregard the will of the overwhelming middle and lower classes. In either case, the party is demonstrating its incompetence to deal with this question to the public satisfaction; and the outcome of its action can only be expected to be, first, failure, then the prolongation of the struggle under conditions of public exasperation, and then forms of public disturbance from which the imagination shrinks. The public have shown great patience and self-control as this stupendous issue has developed, hoping that some wholesome solution may be finally reached, but resolved to accept nothing short of a sound and safe settlement. They now begin to foresee the near approach of a fierce political struggle and are asking seriously what may be the outcome of such a conflict.

Is this a record which commends itself to men of prudence and foresight? Is this a record which makes the Republican party a safe and sure reliance in these days of angry unrest and grave uncertainty?

And what of the Republican leader—the man who won for himself by winning the West? Are the American people still ready to believe that this life-long politician is straightforward and honest in declaring himself on the Trust question? I think not. I fancy that Mr. Roosevelt will spend the remainder of his public career in strenuous work and strenuous writing to induce the people to forgive—but never forget! For it was Jefferson who taught us that "The whole art of government consists in being honest;" and it was Lincoln who taught us that "You can fool all the people some of the time, and you can fool some of the people all the time; but you can't fool all the people all the time."

Next in order of importance we have Senator Marcus A. Hanna—a Warwick to McKinley, and hence Major General of field forces, High Priest of the gospel of "a full dinner pail." Also neighbor, intimate, and beneficiary of the Rockefeller interests; cheek by jowl with the Steel Trust, the shipping combine, and the soft coal combination —and just now an anxious pleader for harmony and co-operation with the forces of organized labor, grown angry, restless, and irresistible at the ballot box. And precisely how Mr. Hanna goes about the business of "manufacturing" a needful show of public sentiment in favor of his candidates and legislative measures, is clearly revealed in the following authorized interview published in the *New York Herald* at the time he was putting the Ship Subsidy grab through the Senate machine:

Methods are being employed in behalf of this measure that

have never been known before in the national capital. Senator. Hanna is methodical in everything. He applies the same efforts to politics that he applies to business, and he is now applying the same rules to legislation that he applies to politics.

In behalf of the Subsidy bill a campaign of instruction has been extended to every State in the Union. In Washington a press bureau has been organized to supply newspaper correspondents with information bearing on the progress of the bill. This is run exactly on the lines of a press bureau of a national political committee, and the men managing it are the same who managed the press bureau for Senator Hanna in the last campaign at No. 1 Madison avenue, New York.

In addition to this a literary bureau has been organized. This is engaged in sending to all parts of the country copies of speeches made in support of the Subsidy bill, together with committee reports in favor of the measure and arguments gathered from various sources. The speeches of Senators Frye and Hanna have been sent out literally by the million.

Indiana, where the opposition to the Subsidy bill began, just as did the opposition to the Puerto Rican tariff, has been flooded with literature. Arguments in favor of the bill have also been sent to Ohio, Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa and one or two other States where the press has been very active in opposing the bill.

Still another bureau has been directly in correspondence with leading members of business, commercial and financial exchanges, boards of trade and similar organizations, with a view of impressing upon them the advantages of the Subsidy bill and asking them to have their organizations take action. As a result these bodies all over the country are meeting and passing resolutions in favor of the bill. Senator Frye has received resolutions of this sort from organizations in almost every State, and they are now coming at the rate of six or eight a day, showing that the campaign of education is bearing fruit.

Senator Hanna was asked to-day what the result of his efforts to create public sentiment had been.

"The result has been," he replied, "a tremendous change in sentiment. We started out with the original assumption that this bill was understood thoroughly. We discovered that it was not understood. Since then it has had wide discussion. We want it discussed more widely.

"We have sent literature wherever it has been asked for. There has been a great demand for it. The entire public is taking an interest in the matter and wants information. At this moment I have on my desk invitations from four bodies in Greater New York alone inviting me to go over and make speeches. These are the Brooklyn Merchants' Association, the Tariff League, the Sound Money League and the Republican Club.

"I believe that the bill will be passed, because it ought to be passed, and I believe that the public sentiment now being created will pass it."

Then we have Henry Cabot Lodge, *professional* Protectionist, biographer and eulogist of Alexander Hamilton, Administration leader in the Senate and the President's "dearest, best friend"—A sleek and artful manipulator of phrases who is relied upon to stem the tide of angry discontent among New England manufacturers, now paying heavy tribute to the Trusts through scandulous prices for all the materials of productive industry, prices so high that home trade is restricted, and export trade is being strangled.

Next after him we have the warlike Mr. Root—watchful, skilled and scheming New York corporation attorney; ever-busy messenger between Morgan and the White House. Working in harness beside him is Attorney General Knox, Cabinet representative of the Pittsburgh steel interests, lugubrious legal prosecutor of the Trusts, and author of what Carnegie assures us is "a literary gem" in exposition of a sound system of Publicity—*for* the corporations!

"Philander C. Knox was yesterday sworn in as Attorney-General and took his seat as a member of the Cabinet.

"Now that the matter is fully consummated, will the chief Republican newspapers of this city and of the country find their

voice to speak of it? Is it not so unusual as to be extraordinary that a President can fill this important office without evoking a word of approval from the leading organs of his party? Did such a thing ever happen before?

"It would really be interesting to have the opinion of these journals as to the wisdom and policy of appointing a chief counsel of the billion-dollar Steel Trust to administer the anti-trust laws. Do they think it prudent—to put it on no higher ground—to permit Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan to designate the official charged with the enforcement of the anti-trust and interstate commerce laws? Do they think the appointment of a second Cabinet officer from the strong Republican State of Pennsylvania ordinarily good politics? Do they think President McKinley would have ventured to make this appointment before the last Presidential election?

"The silence of the organs is growing oppressive. Perhaps they are waiting to speak in chorus? —*The New York World.*

"The retiring Attorney-General is to form a partnership with the counsel for the billion-dollar Steel Trust, and the incoming Attorney-General is an attorney for the largest constituent corporation in the trust. As The World's Washington correspondent observes, the trust catches the Attorney-Generalship of the United States both a-coming and a-going.

—*The Springfield Republican.*

Senator Chauncey M. Depew, millionaire orator *par excellence,* and always busy with oily tongue; but in the Senate solely because he is the richly paid attorney of the Vanderbilt estates! Through Tom Platt the Vanderbilts absolutely control a majority vote in the legislature of New York; and thus the freemen of the great Empire State, and the citizens of the imperial city of the Nation, are subjected to the ignominy of representation in the United States Senate by a paid railroad attorney and a notorious political corruptionist.

At first Senator Platt's attitude towards reëlection was lan-

guidly indifferent. He might consent to it, or he might not. Next we have him loftily consenting to "accept" a reëlection. Finally, he admitted that he was an active and even an eager and somewhat anxious "candidate." How he would run if the party could get a fair chance to vote upon him is shown by the following summary of the opinions of leading Republicans of the State:

	For Platt.	Against Platt.
Clergymen	5	41
College professors	3	37
Editors and authors	9	42
Prominent citizens	20	33
Presidents of railroads, banks and trusts	13	0
Office holders and ex-office holders	59	0
	109	153

—*New York Evening Post.*

Matthew Stanley Quay, the master-mind of corruption politics—the man who granted the Standard Oil Company its priceless pipe-line franchises; the man who levies unfailing tribute upon the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, the anthracite coal barons, and the Pittsburg steel Protectionists; the man who dares, defies, and defeats the outraged public sentiment of the great Keystone State; the man who does more than any living man to obstruct, manipulate, and defeat every move in Congress in the people's interest.

Senator William B. Allison, wheel-horse of the Republican party, chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, and patriarch of Protection teaching—a man who has devoted a lifetime to the work of taxing millions out of the pockets of Iowa farmers that a few Pennsylvania and New England manufacturers might be en-

riched. Surely if there be a patriotic duty that the yeomen of Iowa now owe to themselves and their children, it is to retire this gray-bearded offender to the repentance of seclusion and private life.

Stephen B. Elkins, the adventurous speculator who made a fortune in New Mexico, built a little railroad in West Virginia, and then, almost before he acquired the pretense of citizenship, began the systematic work of secretly pledging and quietly electing a majority of the Legislature which sends him to the Senate—in place of Johnson N. Camden, the "Democrat," who represented the Standard Oil Company in the same seat during twelve years of steady monopoly building. I spent my boyhood in West Virginia; I learned my first lessons in newspaper work on her daily and weekly press; and I know the rich little commonwealth from mountain peak to valley and from the Pan Handle to Greenbrier. "All mountaineers are Freemen;" and if the freemen of proud little West Virginia could get at Elkins by direct vote of the people, and get at Scott, the nobody who sits with him, not a corporal's guard of unpaid voters could be mustered in favor of either man. This all West Virginia knows—and blushes in knowing it! But wait—wait! The patriot Wilson is dead, but Wilson's priceless teaching and example still live! We shall hear from West Virginia again—as surely as we heard from her in war time!

Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, Chairman of the Committee on Finance—the most important of the Senate committees. Mr. Aldrich is supposed

to represent the free people of Rhode Island; but in naked truth he is the Senate leader of the Standard Oil interests, and father-in-law of young John D. Rockefeller, Jr. The *New York Evening Post* has lately rendered a notable public service by publishing a series of startling disclosures of the utter corruption of political life in proud little Rhode Island. I trust that some hero with both patriotism and a pocket book will make a business of republishing the series in pamphlet form, and then mailing a copy to the personal address of every voter throughout the entire State. At one fell swoop "that will do the business for the gang." And meanwhile, this brief extract is enough for our present purpose:

"PROVIDENCE, R. I., March 14.—Open shame is on this State, with its honorable history and splendid traditions. Bribery and corruption are the sores that affect the body politic. Public opinion is apathetic. Votes and men are bought and sold, and decent men in the community hold their hands. Stories of bribe-giving and taking are current on the streets and in the clubs, and no one is found so skeptical as to disbelieve them. The political infamy of the State has been spread abroad through the newspapers and other public journals. A boss—blind, like justice—sits in his office in the State House and tells the Legislature what it may and may not do.

"Probably the most depressing feature of the situation is that the men who constantly accept bribes are often men of substance, owning their homes, and sometimes other property. They don't need the money. Long years of bribe-taking have deadened their consciences. They take the bribe as their natural right, and expect it just as they expect payment when they do a day's work for some one. That is a thing that must be overcome. These men must be educated in their duty to themselves and the State, and made to see the heinousness of their crime.

"Some money is used for bribery in every State election. A prodigious amount was expended in 1892. Aldrich was up for

re-election to the United States Senate, and of course that meant that the Republican workers had money.

"Against these conditions there has been a long, hard, and hitherto unavailing fight. The Republican boss, Charles R. Brayton, has kept an unshaken grip upon his rotten boroughs; street railways and other corporations that depend upon legislative favor have helped to throttle the commonwealth; and men like Senator Aldrich have risen to eminence through this degradation of their constituencies."

Senator Eugene Hale—hailing naturally from Blaine's State, and naturally, too, another of Carnegie's intimate friends. Mr. Hale is the unblushing Prophet of Prosperity whose business it is to teach that:

"The Dingley act has given the people of the United States more revenue, more business, more trade and more prosperity than any bill ever before enacted."

And then, alas, in the House of Representatives, and on the stump in every Presidential election, we see grizzled, battle-scarred and forceful old soldiers, bravely avowing honest faith in Protection, and doubtless striving to do their duty as they dimly see it; but who, in naked truth, are bending the backs of their old comrades to the service of a shameless oligarchy of men who enrich themselves through legislation thus pitifully promoted.

I might go on indefinitely multiplying names of men prominent in both Senate and House, in gubernatorial chairs and State legislatures—but again, I say, we are not concerned with the rank and file. I have designated the resourceful and responsible leaders. I have uncovered the sordid motives and the pocket-interest connections of

those who look to Wall Street for every move in the great game of promotion politics for personal profit. Fame lures the politicians, but ignoble gain is the master motive which moves the men who do the dangerous work.

Now let us see the machine at work.

Mr. Henry Loomis Nelson has contributed to the *Century Magazine* for February, 1903, a paper entitled "The Over-Shadowing Senate," which I should like to publish here entire. That being impracticable, I strongly recommend that my readers, and especially newspaper editors, make a business of reading it at the libraries. For in this one article Mr. Nelson clearly reveals the fact that, through irresponsibility to the people, and through "courtesy of the Senate," that body has become "the most perfectly developed trust, or trade-union, in the country; and there is hardly any existing combination which is more inimical to the general welfare than the Senate union has sometimes been, and may easily be again!"

Towards the close of his paper Mr. Nelson gives us this illuminating insight into just how the Senate leaders do their work:

"For days the conferees had been wrestling over a Senate amendment to the tariff bill. The representatives had the better of the argument, and pushed their advantage until the senators were on the point of yielding. The item of the tariff bill involved concerned an article made by a powerful combination in which the most potent figure of the National Committee of the time was interested. The Senate amendments provided for increased protection for this article; the House bill had placed it on the free list. As the House conferees thought that they were on the point of gaining the victory, a telegram was handed in at

the door. It was directed to one of the senators. He read it, and passed it to his colleagues. There was an earnest discussion between the three, and then the despatch was shown to the conferees from the House. It read as follows:

"The ——— schedule will stand as amended by the Senate, or the bill must fall."

The signature was that of the political and industrial potentate. The majority of the House conferees stormed at what they called this impudent dictation, and urged their associates to withstand the corrupt pressure; but their associates did not dare, and the schedule as amended remained in the bill in order to save the measure.

Thus we see the Senate sitting at the gates of power and levying tribute upon all comers. Even the judiciary is not free from its control. The Senate passes on judges as on other appointees, while, as master of legislation, the time may come when it will compel the enactment of a law increasing or diminishing the number of judges on the Supreme bench for its own purposes. This preliminary being arranged, the senators will doubtless secure the appointment of men of their own views.

The overshadowing power of the Senate is unquestioned, and it is exerted every day of the political year. The Senate, indeed, possesses many virtues which are conspicuously absent from the popular branch. It considers measures, and debates them freely. Its minority has often been guilty of wilful and injurious obstruction, but loquacious obstruction is not so hurtful to the public interests as silent obedience. There is nothing more hostile to the general welfare than concealment of the reasons for and against the enactment of laws; nor are there many things more desirable in a modern democracy than the suppression of legislation by obstruction or otherwise. Buckle's view is truer than ever: the chief value of legislation to-day lies in the opportunity and power to remedy mistakes of the past: "Repeal is more blessed than enactment." The Senate contains industrious and intelligent men who work for the public interests, but its power over the President tends to the corruption of the public service, while its domination over the House of Representatives, coupled with the rules and the practices of the hierarchy, makes that body a silent assemblage without the power which the law intended it to exercise. Even appropriation bills, which, under

the Constitution, must originate in the House, receive their final form in the Senate or in conference.

One result of the immense growth of a senator's power and influence is the temptation thereby offered to masterful men of wealth. To such men there is no pleasure comparable to that of exercising power. The joy of the ruler is dear to them, and there is no position in this country like a senatorship for breeding that ecstasy. An indictment against wealth in politics, *per se*, is folly; but wealth in public life, unguided and uninformed, untempered by a patriotic and statesmanlike regard for the general welfare, is hostile to the country's best interests * * * * Their first tendency is to consider the effect of proposed legislation on special interests. It is unquestionably an evil that men who have no talent for public life should attain to its highest honors merely because they are rich. In the present Senate there are more than a score of men who would not be there but for their possession of wealth. * * * * When to this we add the domination which the Senate has gained over the President and the popular branch of Congress, and over the party organizations, we readily understand that it is a menace to the health of the body politic. We need not inquire as to the corruption of the Senate; but we know that it is corrupting. It is corrupting even if it only stimulates the cynical belief in its lack of virtue which is embodied in a doubtless untruthful story not long ago current in Washington. This tale of fiction runs to the effect that a senator, on hearing that an aspirant for election to the Chamber had refused to respond to the last demand made upon him for money, said:

"How foolish! Doesn't he know that a senatorship is worth sixty thousand dollars a year?"

The sad thing is that, absurd as the fiction is upon its face, its narration was never known to be received with any expression of surprise, with any expression whatever except that smile which indicates that such a tale told of such a subject is to be expected. When men are known to secure seats in the Senate because they are rich, and, being in the Senate, thereby become dominant powers in the government and in party politics; and when the legislation which secures most attention from Congress affects private commercial and financial interests, suspicions of corruption are, to say the least, not astonishing. The Senate is not only powerful: it is exacting and arbitrary; while the char-

acter of its constituent elements makes it self-assertive, tyrannical, and prone to prefer the material to the moral advantage of the republic. Its overshadowing influence and the manner in which it is exerted, inevitably recall the saying of our ancient enemy, Lord Bute:

"The forms of a free and the ends of an arbitrary government are things not altogether incompatible."

Simultaneously with the publication of this notable paper by the *Century Magazine,* we had the battle royal in the Senate over the Littlefield publicity measure; and it was the strategy and high play of that struggle between the President and the Senate leaders that affords us instructive demonstration of the dangerous power of the Senate as now constituted.

It will be remembered that the Littlefield bill was emasculated in the House committee, by the addition of a clause making it apply only to corporations *"hereafter to be organized"*— in other words, as the *New York Herald* observed, "any one bold enough to compete with the existing mighty combinations *is to be pilloried for their benefit!* After that, it is scarcely worth while to discuss the rest of the bill, but it lodges dangerous private inquisitorial powers in the commission *to harass the possible competitors,* not at all for the information of the public—all the publicity enjoined is the yearly issue of 'a list' of corporations, with 'an abstract' of their formal returns."

In this emasculated form the bill was passed by the Republican House—obviously to give a semblance of obedience to the overwhelming popular demand. So soon as it reached the Senate, the

serviceable Elkins came forward with his shifty substitute to prohibit railroad "rebates"—which the Standard Oil Company long ago abandoned in favor of Quay's pipe-line franchises. Then straightway the lugubrious Knox, representing "the Administration," check-mated Elkins by throwing Littlefield overboard and revising the Nelson amendment to the Department of Commerce bill so that *"discretion is lodged in the President as to the publication of facts useful to be known publicly."*

The outcome of the whole performance is neither more nor less than a temporary personal triumph for Mr. Roosevelt. Instead of providing for Publicity, Congress has simply armed the President with power to demand his nomination upon penalty of publicly attempting disclosures of Trust finance that would put a short stop to the profitable business of marketing watered stocks to the investing public. And before the bills are signed by the President, the plain purpose of the move is revealed in this news which comes to us through the associated press dispatches:

J. P. MORGAN, HANNA AND ALDRICH IN WHITE HOUSE.

"Washington, Feb. 15.—Callers at the White House to-night included Senators Hanna and Aldrich, who remained with the President until nearly 11 o'clock."

"J. Pierpont Morgan, who returned to the city from Richmond, Va., shortly before 10 o'clock, also called during the evening. He left the house with Senators Hanna and Aldrich, going as far as their hotel with them, when he returned to his car at the railroad station, later leaving for New York City."

Then immediately following the conference between Morgan, Hanna, Aldrich and Roosevelt,

this is the carefully prepared announcement which was given to the public through the associated press dispatches. I take it from the *New York Herald,* of February 16, 1903, after verifying it by comparison with the same dispatch appearing in other New York papers:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sunday, Feb. 15.—Attorney-General Knox *who is known to have prepared* the important features of the anti-trust bills now enacted into laws, on being asked as to how they were regarded by the Administration, said:

"The legislation affecting the trusts passed at this session of Congress *is satisfactory to the Administration,* and the prompt response to the President's requests is highly gratifying. A very long stride in advance has been accomplished, and *the promises of last fall have been made good.*

REBATE LAW EFFECTIVE.

"The giving and taking of railroad rebates is now prohibited by a law capable of effective enforcement against corporations as well as individuals, and the courts of the United States are clothed with jurisdiction to restrain and punish violations.

"The act creating the Department of Commerce vests in that department *complete authority* to investigate the organization and business methods of corporations engaged in interstate and foreign commerce, and to that end to compel the testimony of persons having the desired knowledge.

"*Discretion is lodged in the President as to the publication of facts useful to be publicly known, and a wise administration of the law promises much that is helpful and nothing that is harmful.*

SITUATION SATISFACTORY.

"The law to expedite the hearing of cases and giving an appeal directly to the Supreme Court from the court of first instance assures within a reasonable time authoritative decisions upon important pending questions, in the knowledge of which future legislation, *if necessary,* can be confidently framed."

Thus we see that, in addition to being commander in chief of the Army and Navy, Mr.

Roosevelt is now armed with despotic power over every big and little corporation in the entire country that may be engaged in inter-state commerce. He can exercise the power in accordance with his individual pleasure; he can put on the pressure when and where he chooses; and he can treat with his victims under threat of withholding or publishing information of vital importance to the whole people. Obviously, the first use he hopes and plans to make of this power is to persuade the millionaires that it is the part of wisdom to grant him a nomination for the Presidency. He is tired of having Hanna bid against him for the labor vote and the negro vote; he means to have done with the necessity for bickering and bargaining with Platt and Quay for the machine delegates from New York and Pennsylvania; and he knows —as some of the rest of us do—that the true way to manage the machine is to hold the whip handle over the men who make the machine possible and profitable.

But is this government of the people *by the people*—as Lincoln taught us? Is it not, rather, government of the people *by Roosevelt*—for the specific purpose of advancing Mr. Roosevelt's personal and political ambition? Will the people be content with just the kind and quantity of Publicity that Mr. Roosevelt, and his conferees, deem proper to publish? I fancy not. I imagine that on the opening day of the next Congress—Republican though it will be—we shall see Publicity measures introduced in the lower House which will clearly reflect the people's fixed determination to have corporation Publicity over which Mr.

Roosevelt will never have the slightest occasion for conference with Mr. Morgan, Mr. Hanna, and Mr. Aldrich. For even among Republicans I imagine there are many men who have chanced to read this solemn warning, penned by Thomas Jefferson far back in 1789:

"It would be a dangerous delusion were a confidence in the men of our choice to silence our fears for the safety of our rights. Confidence is everywhere the parent of despotism—free Government is founded on jealousy, and not in confidence. It is jealousy and not confidence which prescribes limited Constitutions to bind down those whom we are obliged to trust with power. Our Constitution has accordingly fixed the limits to which, and no further, our confidence may go; and let the honest advocate of confidence read the Alien and Sedition acts and say if the Constitution has not been wise in fixing limits to the government it created, and whether we should be wise in destroying those limits. In questions of power, then, let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution."

In the light of this plain teaching, in the light of experience and plain common sense, we can now see how far we have drifted towards one man rule—towards the tyranny of an oligarchy of rich men who rule the Senate with money, and who rule able and ambitious politicians through the political machine which money supports. For to overcome the machine Mr. Roosevelt has deliberately loaned himself to the usurpation of despotic power over the people—a power which is without precedent in the annals of American history; a power which would scarcely be attempted, much less tolerated, in Royal Britain or even Imperial Germany; a power which is the sheerest travesty upon popular government.

Mr. Roosevelt's life long experience in practical politics has simply enabled him to trick the tricksters in the game of machine management. He doubtless reasons that the nomination is now easily within his grasp; that Prosperity, the gospel of "a full dinner pail," and the certain blunders of the disorganized Democracy will elect him for what he deems a first term; and then a second term—giving him the unexampled glory of over eleven years in the White House—can be easily won. And this program is now entirely agreeable to Mr. Morgan, Mr. Hanna and Mr. Aldrich, as the evidence clearly shows.

"Are the gentlemen who assemble daily in the Capitol at Washington fools? Or do they think the American people are fools?

"To one question or the other an affirmative reply must be made by every citizen who notes the course that is pursued with respect to *"anti-trust"* legislation.

"What a performance! Claptrap and stage thunder from first to last. We don't really believe that the men in Congress are imbeciles. *Neither are the people!"*

—*New York Herald, Feb. 18, 1903.*

I am quite sure that my brethren of the press will find the means for making an amusing mess of all these pretty plans. And thinking men of influence in this generation are now in position to adequately appreciate the wisdom of the fathers in providing for a Presidential election every four years.

Both the President and the Trust promoting millionaires know exactly what the people want and need in the matter of corporation Publicity; and we shall not have to wait beyond the next

election to secure an adequate and lasting solution of the problem—for in the national bank act the genius of Salmon P. Chase has plainly shown the way. But let us suppose that the Constitutional convention had adopted the plan of a single seven years' term—as it came near doing, and as many able men still insist it should have done. Under that system, Mr. Roosevelt could now go on for full five years in the exercise of his despotic power; the Wall Street promoters could quietly proceed, through full five years of time, in the busy work of distributing watered stocks to investors, who know next to nothing about them; at the end of that term "community-of-interest," political and financial, would enable the ruling millionaires to select another "popular" candidate, probably more manageable than Mr. Roosevelt; and the end of that would be—just about what happened in France in 1789 and again in 1871. "History but repeats itself;" and as Lincoln wisely observed, "the people always mean right, and in the end *they will have the right*"—through blood and sacrifice should occasion call, as it has often called before!

It was wise old George Mason, of Bill of Rights fame, who declared that he would chop off his right hand rather than sign the Constitution as originally adopted; and he kept on declaring it, kept on with the grim, determined work he had in hand until in 1791 ten amendments were added—chief among which was the first one:

"Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; *or abridging*

the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.''

So, too, it was Thomas Jefferson who declared:

''Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter!''

''Our citizens may be deceived for a while, and have been deceived; but as long as the press can be protected we trust them for light.''

''I am not one of those who fear the people.''

''The information of the people at large can alone make them the safe, as they are the sole, depository of our religious and political freedom!''

A free press is the precise form of Publicity with which Mr. Roosevelt, and the mighty millionaires he is leading, must now reckon; and it is to the fearlessly free press of the *New York American* that we are indebted for the public disclosure of this speaking telegram, which explains everything:

NEW YORK, February 6th, 1903.

Hon. M. S. Quay, Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.

Yesterday's letter received. We are unalterably opposed to all proposed so-called Trust Bills, except the Elkins Bill already passed by the Senate, preventing railroad discrimination; everything else is utterly futile and will result only in vexatious interference with the industrial interests of the country. The Nelson Bill, as all others of like character, will be only an engine for vexatious attacks against a few large corporations. It gives the right of Federal interference with business of State Corporations, without giving any Federal protection whatever. There is no popular demand for such a measure. If any bill is passed it should apply to all individual partnerships and corporations

engaged in interstate business, and it should be made mandatory on all as to making reports of their business to the commerce department.

Am going to Washington this afternoon. Please send word to the Arlington where I can see you this evening.

JOHN D. ARCHBOLD.

And this is the story of that telegram which the staff correspondent of the *American* sent on from Washington:

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11.—I have forwarded this morning by mail to the *American* the telegram sent by the Standard Oil Company in an effort to prevent the passage of all so-called anti-trust measures with the exception of the Elkins bill.

The telegram was sent with the knowledge, consent and approval of John D. Rockefeller, president of the Standard Oil Company.

When John D. Archbold signed the message he was acting for the Standard Oil Trust through the advice and direction of Mr. Rockefeller.

It has been denied that the telegram was sent, but the denial has not been made by Mr. Archbold or Mr. Rockefeller.

Conservative men could not believe that even Standard Oil officials would have the brazen effrontery to issue fiats even to such men as Matthew Stanley Quay, or use a telegram as a means of communicating the order, but the *American* will show them that this very thing has been done.

The telegram obtained for the *American* tells the story of its own infamy.

Its parallel is not in the history of all the corrupt lobbying that has been the rule since the Republicans came into power seven years ago.

Politicians, office holders, and all those familiar with the machinery of legislation in Washington, scouted the idea that men like Mr. Rockefeller and his associates would resort to telegrams to issue orders to those whom they could command.

Such an act, they urged, was entirely foreign to the calm, cunning and calculating mind of John D. Rockefeller, who has

made no blunders in business, and for that reason would make no mistakes in attempting to stifle the passage of the nation's laws.

They will be startled to-morrow morning when they read the telegram that Mr. Archbold wrote and Mr. Rockefeller ordered to be sent.

There is no further question as to what has been done.

The *American* will make known to-morrow to the nation that the time is here when the controllers of trusts feel that they are sufficiently strong to give orders to men elected by the people to make laws as to what they shall or shall not do.

John D. Archbold is one of the powers of the Standard Oil Company. He is close to John D. Rockefeller. In all the scheming that made the Standard Oil Company rich beyond the dreams of Crœsus, Messrs, Archbold and Rockefeller have kept their heads close together. In this last movement they have been cheek by jowl.

Mr. Archbold telegraphed to Senator Quay that he would meet him in Washington on the day following the date of his telegram. He arrived here on February 6, at 9.05 p. m. He registered at the Arlington Hotel, as he said he would in the telegram the *American* makes public. He remained in this city until 7 o'clock on the following day, when he left for New York.

Several Republican Senators live in this hotel. Senators Aldrich, O. H. Platt, T. C. Platt and Hanna reside in the Arlington.

When Mr. Archbold comes to Washington those lawmakers whom the Standard Oil controls or desires to control gather at the Arlington.

The Standard Oil people do not desire publicity.

Standard Oil stock is not listed on the New York Stock Exchange because all stock bought and sold must be accompanied by full statements of the business of the issuing corporation. No man except the officers of the Standard Oil knows its business, its earnings or its methods.

The Nelson amendment to the Elkins bill provides for a certain degree of publicity for trusts. Under this amendment the Government can finally get at the books of all corporations doing an interstate business.

The Elkins bill, to which the Standard Oil did NOT object, merely provides against freight rebates by railroad and other common carriers.

The Elkins bill had no features that would trouble any combination.

Its chief purpose was to throw a sop to those insisting on trust legislation.

The Nelson amendment puts a section in the bill that the Republicans did not desire.

The amended Elkins bill, with a trust-sympathizing party in control of the Government, will be a dead letter, but with Democrats in charge to put it in force the measure might make trouble for just such monopolies as the Standard Oil Trust.

It provides for publicity. The Standard Oil people work in the dark and never permit others than themselves to know of the transactions of the company.

The Littlefield bill is the most drastic of all the Republican anti-Trust measures offered, but it will never get through the Senate.

While its author did not seek to go to the point of seriously interfering with their privileges, yet there were certain features that were objectionable to Mr. Rockefeller and his confederates. Therefore, it will fail of final passage.

The net result of to-day's anti-Trust legislation is the amended Department of Commerce bill, including the Nelson amendment which is introduced to force publicity.

And it is publicity that John D. Rockefeller, master of the Standard Oil Trust, fought against when he ordered the telegram sent which the *American* will print to-morrow morning exclusively.

In contemplation of the situation thus clearly revealed, we can now measure the importance of the coming Presidential election; and I think it will be some years before we hear any more grumbling from "business interests" upon the subject of our "too-frequent elections."

But if experience has vindicated the wisdom of the fathers in the matter of a four-years term

for the President, experience has also shown that the plan they gave us of electing Senators by vote of the State legislatures, instead of by direct vote of the people, has now become the most dangerous feature of our governmental system. For legislative corruption is the basis of all the grave troubles that menace our present and future, and the Senate has now become the stronghold—the keystone in the arch—of "community-of-interest" between politicians and promoters, between railroad officials and combination financiers, and, especially, between State legislatures, where valuable franchises are granted, and United States Senators, who control and manipulate the local political machines. In other words, *the State legislatures grant the valuable franchises, and the same State legislatures elect the Senators.* That the one should represent the other—that Senators should be deliberately pledged to protect and promote the interests of the corporations—is as inevitable as that water flows down hill.

The theory of the fathers was that the President and the members of the House—elected by direct vote of the people—should represent the Federal government, the Nation, while the Senators should represent the State governments. And having good reason to fear a tyrannous centralized government, they gave the Senate a preponderance of power over both the President and the House, to make absolutely sure of preserving to us the inestimable liberty of local self-government in our State, county, township, and municipal affairs.

The system worked smoothly enough until the

advent of the modern era of the railroads, the telegraph, the telephone, and the great industrial combinations now engaged in inter-state commerce. *These are all created by the States*—by franchises granted by State legislatures. And they have become so numerous, so powerful, and so enormously rich, that in self-defense, and often with corrupt ends deliberately in view, they have found it necessary *to make a business of quietly electing a majority of every State legislature that has power over their charters.* Thus, a committee of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation, appointed to investigate railway freight discriminations, reported not long ago as follows:

> "The railroads control absolutely the Legislatures of a majority of the States of the Union. They make and unmake governors, United States Senators and Congressmen, and under the forms of popular government, they dictate the governmental policy of the United States."

I could fill pages with testimony like this. But testimony is needless. The fact is common knowledge.

Since the creation of the Inter-State Commerce Commission and the passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, the railroads and the industrial combinations have suffered some inconvenience at the hands of Congressional committees; and, naturally, they have taken the shortest route and most effective means of thwarting every effort at interference from the national government—that is to say, through their control of the State legislatures, *they now absolutely control a majority of*

the United States Senate. How true this is we can now see by a rapid sketch of the Senate organization.

In the first place, Protection is the basis and battle-cry of the party organization—the one reason for the party's present existence. Protection is, therefore, the party lash which enables the leaders to whip every Republican Senator into line—upon penalty of ostracism and certain defeat at the next election of his State legislature.

Aldrich, the father-in-law of young John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is chairman of the Finance Committee—which is the equivalent of the Ways and Means committee in the House.

Allison is chairman of the committee on Appropriations, and every man in the Senate is under the daily and hourly necessity of courting his favor.

Elkins is chairman of the committee on Inter-State Commerce, and thus every step towards Publicity is squarely halted by this servant of the Standard Oil monopoly.

Frye, of Ship Subsidy fame, is chairman of the committee on Commerce, and every favor that every manufacturer in the country desires to ask through his Senators must have this man's approval.

Hale is chairman of the Naval Committee, and thus each and every move in the interest of the most popular branch of the public service is subject to the domination of the most brazen advocate of the Dingley bill.

Cullom, the man who sits in the Senate from

Abraham Lincoln's State, is chairman of the committee on Foreign Relations—and the record of the Reciprocity treaties is the result!

"We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

—*Abraham Lincoln.*

I shall not waste time with enumerating the lesser committees. We need only mention Hanna from Ohio and Lodge from Massachusetts, Platt and Depew from New York, Quay and Penrose from Pennsylvania Elkins and Scott from West Virginia, and, lastly, Kean and Dryden from New Jersey, the home of the Trusts. The names are enough. The pocket-interest connections of the men explain every move that they make and every vote that they cast. All the Nation knows that these leaders rule the Senate majority with the precision of clock-work. The Democratic minority is helpless in face of their power. Not a Senator on the Republican side but risks certain banishment should he dare to challenge the ring rule of those in control. And the vast corporations, created by State legislatures, commanding billions of capital, employing millions of men, and wielding a power which dares everything but public opinion—these are the individual companies which have built up the Senate machine, and which now rule it as with a rod of iron:

The Standard Oil Company,
The United States Steel Corporation,
The Pennsylvania Railroad Company,

The New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company,
The Northern Securities Company,
The Union Pacific Railroad Company,
The Southern Pacific Railroad Company,
The Illinois Central Railroad Company,
The Missouri Pacific Railroad Company,
The Southern Railroad Company,
The Western Union Telegraph Company,
The American Sugar Refining Company,
The American Tobacco Company,
The American Smelting and Refining Company,
The Amalgamated Copper Company,
The National City Bank of New York.

A score of other great corporations might be added to the list, but it is needless to name the lesser groups. The great companies I have listed are the ones which make a business of closely watching the majority vote in every State legislature in the Nation that may be necessary to control of the Senate. "Community-of-interest" is the magic wand which marshalls every board of Directors to the prompt aid of the leaders; Carnegie is the splurging "benefactor" who feeds the people with Protection logic and literature which economists spurn to write; Rockefeller is the silent, masterful and unmatched organizer of legislative privilege and monopoly; and Morgan is the Napoleon of Finance who holds the investing public in awe-stricken wonder at his astonishing achievements.

What is the remedy, do you ask?

The remedy is simple enough. Session after

session, for years past, the House of Representatives has passed a resolution calling for the election of Senators by direct vote of the people; and regularly, session after session, the monopoly-serving Senate has taken care to pigeon-hole each resolution in committee. They never even permit them to be publicly discussed in the Senate. Twenty-nine State legislatures have passed the same resolution in recent years; but they have always voted independently of each other—and hence to no purpose. If now, in concert of action, thirty State legislatures will pass a resolution calling for a Constitutional Convention, the simple change can be submitted to the people—and we can easily foretell the result! For it requires little acumen to understand that if Senators were elected by the people, instead of by State legislatures in control of the political machine and the corporations—instantly these great offices would become high prizes for the noblest characters in the Nation. Not a man could or would aspire to so distinguished an honor unless his great abilities and the solid worth of his work in the public interest could command popular approval at the polls. To be identified with corporations, or even to be suspected of such a connection, would be political doom. And to see how true this is, we can picture what would happen if Aldrich presented himself in Rhode Island, if Lodge came before the people of Samuel Adams' great State, if the gray-bearded offenders Allison and Cullom should challenge the liberty-loving yeomanry of Iowa and Illinois, or if that even dozen of mere creatures of the machine—Quay and Penrose,

Platt and Depew, Hanna and Foraker, Frye and Hale, Elkins and Scott, and, finally, Kean and Dryden—should presume to present themselves at the ballot box of the millions of American freemen in the six great commonwealths which they so shamelessly misrepresent.

"Scarcely an individual is to be perceived in it (the Senate) who does not recall the idea of an active and illustrious career. The Senate is composed of eloquent advocates, distinguished generals, wise magistrates, and statesmen of note, whose language would at all times do honor to the most remarkable parliamentary debates of Europe."

—*M. de Tocqueville in 1835.*

We marvel nowadays at the utter corruption of American political life; and as old men revive in memory and young men recall in history the past glory of the United States Senate, in contrast with the degenerate body of today, we stand bewildered at the change and seem hopeless of a remedy. But love of money is the root of this evil—as it is the tap-root of every evil in our public life; and if voting freemen will simply use the common sense they are born with, the problem is stripped of all mystery and the remedy becomes plain as day.

In framing the Constitution the aim of the fathers was to make the Senate the enlightened and conservative force in our government; to have it composed exclusively of our most eminent men, two only to be chosen from a whole State, and each to be elected for a long term of six years —half again as long as the President, and three times as long as the members of the House. Thus constituted, the body was armed with vast powers

—power in plenty to hold in check a President who might plot to make himself a dictator, or a numerous House which might plunge us into radical and ill-considered legislation through temporary anger and excitement of the people. With these ends in view, they provided (1) that the Representatives should be elected by the people, (2) that the Senators should be elected by the State legislatures, and (3) that the President should be chosen by the members of the Electoral College.

Within a few years the latter feature proved itself entirely impracticable; and ever since Jefferson's time, the President has practically been elected by direct vote of the people, for while we still preserve the form of voting for Presidential electors, everybody understands that, in reality, our ballots are cast for the candidates named for President and Vice President. And just as experience demonstrated the need for that change, so experience has now clearly shown the imperative need for *separating the power to elect Senators from the power to grant corporation franchises in State legislatures.* The one controls the other inevitably. Therein we have the complete explanation of why, instead of a Senate to represent the people, we have the grim reality of a Senate which rules over us in the interest of the great and small millionaires who have enriched themselves through public franchises and Protection legislation.

Of all the reforms for which we are now suffering sorely, this is the one which would do most to destroy the political machine, do most to purify

our public life, and do most to deprive the corporations and Trusts of their dangerous power over the people. The needful change would come so gradually that it could not involve us in the slightest disturbance; the Senate would still be the conservative force that the fathers wisely planned and we certainly desire to have it remain; and instantly the foremost men in the Nation would present themselves for the high honors now monopolized by men who are low enough to lend themselves to the ignoble service of the stock-jobbers. For while the rich are indeed money mad, the people are very far from being so; and if we simply strip the machine of power in its stronghold, we shall speedily see the manhood and intellect of America teaching, and proving, that life's sweetest rewards and ambition's most enduring honors, lie far beyond the reach of godless millions of money.

"I feel a well-grounded conviction that the best principles of our great and glorious ancestors are inherited by a large portion of the American people. And if the talents, the policy, the address, the power, the bigotry and tyranny of Archbishop Laud and the court of Charles the First were not able to destroy or discredit them in 1630 or 1635, there is little cause of apprehension for them from the feeble effort of the frivolous libertines who are combining, conspiring, and intriguing against them in 1802."

"I find very honest men, who, thinking the possession of some property necessary to give due independence of mind, are for restraining the elective franchise to property. I believe we may lessen the danger of buying and selling votes by making the number of voters too great for any means of purchase. I may further say that *I have not observed men's honesty to increase with their riches.*" —*Thomas Jefferson.*

We are rich in patriotism as we are rich in wealth—and invincible in power! We have thousands of able men whose heads are "equal to true and solid calculations of glory." And the one thing which, more than any other, stands in the way of the priceless public service they are ready and eager to render, is the formidable and utterly corrupt combination now pivoted upon the power to secretly control State legislatures—and thus capture seats in the Senate and invaluable franchises for public utilities.

OUTLINES OF THE PROBLEMS NOW CONFRONTING US.

But what avail, ye builders of the world,
Unless ye build a safety for the soul?
Man has put harness on Leviathan,
And hooks in his incorrigible jaws;
And yet the perils of the street remain.
Out of the whirlwind of the cities rise
Lean hunger and the worm of misery,
The heartbreak and the cry of mortal tears.
—Edwin Markham.

"I hope we shall take warning from the example of England and crush in its birth the aristocracy of our moneyed corporations, which dare already to challenge our Government to trial, and bid defiance to the laws of our country."
—Thomas Jefferson.

"By the Eternal, the money-power shall not rule this land."
—Andrew Jackson.

"We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this Nation under God shall have a new birth of Freedom—and that Government of the people by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."
—Abraham Lincoln.

Chapter III.

We live in an age of astonishing progress.

We are passing through an era which is wholly new in evolutionary science, in revolutionary invention, and in the astounding increase of individual wealth—an era which, for us, is momentous in its problems of industrial strife at home, and ever-present danger of trouble in South America and the far East.

As the result of amazing progress in all the mechanic arts, the accumulated wealth of civil-

ized nations has doubled, trebled, and quadrupled in the past fifty years; the great body of mankind now enjoy comforts and luxuries which only kings and princes could afford three generations ago; the general average of wages, *for skilled workers regularly employed,* has advanced twofold or more; and the purchasing power of the gold dollar has enhanced 50 to 75 per cent., and more than double for a long list of articles now deemed necessaries of the home.

But while all Europe has been passing through a steady ferment of political agitation, and while there great gains have been made in abating the evils of aristocratic rule and in advancing the share of the people in the business of governing themselves, in the United States we have had no change in our political status, and happily no thought or need of fundamental change, for over a century of time—the Civil War having been fought simply to preserve our institutions and free the slaves.

Thus, while physical science has been going forward by leaps and bounds, with us, *political science has stood still!*

It can stand still no longer!

The Trust issue, the war with Spain, the acquisition of Hawaii, the Philippines, and Porto Rico, the Cuban experiment, and the grim reality of the Monroe Doctrine—these are all new and momentous problems in the political, industrial and commercial development of America.

They mean simply that we are now in world politics—and in to stay! That fact affrights the timid ones; but it kindles the courage, it fires

the enthusiasm, and it ennobles the ambition of millions of American freemen who know instinctively—as a race inheritance—that we have now fairly begun the grand work which our fathers planned that we should do.

"It is impossible not to be sensible that we are acting for all mankind; that circumstances denied to others, but indulged to us, have imposed on us the duty of proving what is the degree of freedom and self-government in which a society may venture to have its individual members."

"I know that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, *institutions must advance also*, and keep pace with the times. We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy, as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of their barbarous ancestors. It is this preposterous idea which has lately deluged Europe in blood. Their monarchs, instead of wisely yielding to the gradual changes of circumstances, of favoring progressive accommodation to progressive improvement, have clung to old abuses, entrenched themselves behind steady habits, and obliged their subjects to seek through blood and violence rash and ruinous innovations, which, had they been referred to the peaceful deliberations and collected wisdom of the nation, would have been put into acceptable and salutary forms.

Let us follow no such examples, nor weakly believe that one generation is not as capable as another of taking care of itself, and of ordering its own affairs." —*Thomas Jefferson.*

It is necessary to realize, in the first place, that for full three generations past, instead of reading history and studying political science, we have been deeply absorbed in the great work of rearing a Nation upon the secure foundations which our fathers laid for us. Within one cen-

tury of time, also, we have outstripped all records in nation-building since the rise and fall of the Roman Republic, full fourteen centuries ago. For it is simple truth to say that not a nation in Europe can now compare with the United States in power, in wealth, and in advantages. That fact is evidence in plenty that we have been profitably employed. But absorbed in the vast work, and intent upon individual interests, we have forgotten the past; we have become confused as to the essential difference between the democratic institutions of America and the aristocratic institutions of Europe; and since the Civil War loaded us with debt and taxes, we have heedlessly permitted the promoters of legislative privilege to confuse the minds of the people, to poison and corrupt our political life, and then to enrich themselves beyond the earthly dreams of kings and princes—And they have done it by sedulously teaching political doctrines which are distinctly European and dangerously un-American; doctrines which our fathers flatly repudiated, first in Jefferson's time, next in Jackson's time, and then again in Lincoln's time.

The Revolutionary patriots did indeed free us from the curse of a legalized and titled aristocracy, resting securely upon the feudal system of primogeniture and entailed estates in land. But they entrusted to our keeping unlimited power to create a moneyed aristocracy through special legislation—and that is precisely what we have done!

Through Protection legislation we have cre-

ated moneyed princes of the manufacturing world, with power to lay tribute upon practically every article that enters into factory production and home consumption.

Through pipe-line franchises we have created moneyed marquises of the petroleum industry, who enjoy a monopoly of our oil wells, and lay tribute upon every lamp that lights the homes of the poor.

Through railroad franchises we have created moneyed lords of the transportation world, with power to lay tribute upon every ton of freight that is moved and every passenger who travels.

Through coal mining charters we have created moneyed barons, with power to restrict the output, to regulate miners' wages, and to lay heavy tribute upon every ton of anthracite that is consumed.

Through telegraph, telephone, street railway, and other municipal franchises, we have created a numerous order of moneyed Sir Knights, who do nimble and daring work with city councils in laying tribute upon every urban dweller.

And finally, through land grants and tricky titles, we have temporarily deeded away the Nation's richest heritage—our vast Public Domain, which is now fenced in and tightly "held for a rise," contrary to the very letter and spirit of all our laws providing specifically for homestead settlement and actual occupancy and use.

Instantly the practical man of business will be prompted to observe: "But it was *necessary* to grant these franchises. People may differ about the necessity for Protection; but certainly there

can be no difference about the necessity for granting franchises to railroads, street railways, and all other public utilities. Without the franchises we could have no transportation facilities. So, too, without franchises for great corporations, we could not possibly have built-up the vast mining and manufacturing industries which now give our people profitable employment."

Precisely so.

Now let us clear up some essential points.

The people, in their sovereign power, have granted these franchises; and hence the people have an ethical, legal, and absolute right to regulate the conduct of these enterprises. Recent advances in civilization have made it evident that we now require public servants—corporations—to administer public utilities, much the same as we require public servants to collect taxes, to administer justice, and to preserve order. It is this fact—the obvious need of governmental control—which forms the basis of that dreamy philosophy of "government ownership," or German socialism, which Henry George and Edward Bellamy did so much to popularize in liberty-loving America. But George and Bellamy were simply behind the age—full twenty centuries behind the constructive statesmen who framed American institutions, as we shall soon see.

In feudal times the collection of taxes and the administration of government was so vitally important, so highly honorable, and so extremely profitable as a pursuit, that the strong men of those times monopolized the business exclusively

for themselves and their families. They made the offices hereditary; they affixed a distinguished title to each office; they entailed their great landed estates; they hired armies of retainers who were well-paid to defend their possessions; and then to the people they said in effect: "This is our business—All of this is our property—We are managing it on a community-of-interest plan —Which means simply that when men own property they can do what they like with it—'The public be damned.'"

> "The mills of the gods grind slowly;
> But they grind exceeding small."

The political history of all Europe is neither more nor less than a bloody record of the age-long strife which the people have had to wage in order to amend that system, and to secure at least some share in the important business of taxing and governing themselves. But the history of America is quite another story. We are bred of a race of freemen who grimly determined three centuries ago that they would not tolerate the tyranny of any such system. And from the day the first-comers landed in Virginia in 1607, down to this hour, the business of learning just how to govern ourselves has been going steadily forward.

The Revolution gave the strong men of our race the opportunity for which they had been planning and waiting. Then it was that they wiped from our constitutions and our statute books every trace of feudal aristocracy. Then it was that they made majority rule the one

supreme law of the land. And then it was that they made public officers neither more nor less than PUBLIC SERVANTS.

One other thing they did, of supremest moment and importance to themselves—and to us! To make absolutely sure that public servants might not betray public trust, and thereby enrich themselves at the people's expense, it was prescribed with scrupulous care that accurate accounts should be kept of all cash receipts and all cash expenditures; and further, that at frequent intervals detailed and sworn statements of these receipts and expenditures should be printed and published for the information of the whole people. Beyond this, to make doubly sure that the people might not be betrayed by able men intent upon winning political power as a means of personal profit, they wisely provided that public officers should be elected for short terms only; and at the end of each term should be called to strict account at the people's ballot box.

Now for some illuminating history!

The new system, thus established, was no sooner under way than the feudal aristocrats, still among us and brilliantly led by Alexander Hamilton, began at once to plot and scheme to fasten themselves upon the people once more. And to get control of the banking facilities and money of the people was the immediate object of their attack. They promptly secured from Congress a charter for the famous Bank of the United States—a great central corporation, with such exclusive privileges and large powers, that it dominated both public and private credit and

of course controlled the volume of legalized paper money. In the succeeding chapter I shall show how Jefferson foresaw and overcame the immediate dangers of this perilous monopoly; but owing to the grave troubles growing out of the war of 1812, the Bank secured a renewal of its charter under Madison's administration; and by the time Jackson came to the Presidency in 1828, it had become so powerful in politics, as well as in business, that, in Jackson's striking phrase, the issue was simply:

"Shall the Bank, or the people rule?"

That contest was settled as it should have been —by refusing to renew the Bank charter. But in accomplishing the necessary work of breaking up so perilous a monopoly, our finances were thrown into confusion; numerous small State banks were chartered in all parts of the country; no effective steps were taken to provide national supervision of bank-note issues; and thus we were plunged into our first great panic—that of 1837. The leading State banks, however, promptly resumed specie payments; and profiting by the lessons of the panic they gave the country a safe and adequate volume of bank notes, which aided greatly in making the wonderful era of prosperity and development that the country enjoyed from 1840 to 1857. But men will forget. Young men rarely profit by the experience of old men. State banks multiplied, and bank notes of uncertain and speculative value increased steadily. Thus we were led straight on to the "wildcat" and "red dog" issues of paper money,

which, with the mad speculation of the early era of railroad building, plunged us into our second great panic of 1857.

It was the lessons of this second financial disaster, and the utter chaos of our national finances during the Civil War, that gave Salmon P. Chase his golden opportunity. And it was the genius of Chase—everlasting honor to his patriot name!—that gave us the longest forward stride in constructive statesmanship since Jefferson's time. In a later chapter I shall show why and how our national banking system now offers an easy and lasting solution of our entire problem of money and finance. But here, we are concerned only with the similarity—the precise identity—of banking charters to franchises for railroads and all industrial corporations engaged in interstate commerce.

Chase saw clearly that money is the very life-blood of the nation's commerce and industry, and hence that it *must* be controlled and regulated by the national government. He also saw that banking was not a legitimate function of government; that a great central Bank had proved dangerous to our free institutions; that the government must be kept out of the banking business; and that those who issue the people's money must be held to strict accountability in the public prints —*precisely as we hold tax collectors, public officials, and all other public servants to strict accountability.*

Genius and great statesman that he was, Chase solved the knotty problem by securing the passage of a law which grants to groups of individu-

als—corporations—charters to engage in the banking business, and to issue paper money, under these conditions: (1) that every bank note shall be secured by bonds deposited in the national Treasury; (2) that at all times the books of these national banks *shall be open to the inspection of "bank examiners" employed by the people;* and (3) that whenever the Comptroller of the Currency sees fit to order it, statements of the condition of these banks *shall be published in the newspapers.*

Publicity! Publicity!! Publicity!!!

Since Chase's day, new problems in government have presented themselves. The advance in science, the evolution of industrial methods, and the complete revolution in all means of quick communication and rapid transit, have made it perfectly evident that the public welfare demands the creation and service of corporations of immense capital and vast power. Seeing these needs, the people have, from time to time, freely granted to industrial and commercial enterprises, and public-service corporations, valuable franchises, carrying with them all the powers necessary to insure the free play of individual initiative in meeting the demands of the people. Under these franchises, numerous great corporations, really in the service of the people, have been created. But up to this time, *no effective provisions have been made for calling the officials of these corporations to account!*

The men who have captured control, the "insiders," conduct these corporations precisely as individuals conduct private business. They

resent, and resist to the utmost, every effort at public inquiry into their abuses of administration. They refuse stockholders and investors—proprietors—the information needful to forming an intelligent estimate of the value of the shares. They pay dividends when and in whatever amount they choose. They manipulate the share capital absolutely without restriction. Within the past five years they have issued watered stock mounting into billions of dollars, upon which the public is now expected to pay interest and dividends. Through secret, often unlawful, conspiracies they freely exercise arbitrary power in granting rebates to favorite interests, and in fixing freight rates, passenger rates, street railway fares, the cost of telephone, telegraph, electric light and other public service. By reason of their personal, irresponsible, and despotic power, even railway officials and employees do not dare to disclose overwhelming evidence of shameless and criminal abuses in the manipulation and conduct of corporations chartered solely for the service of the people. And inside our tariff wall, for years past they have absolutely controlled the price of practically every staple of productive industry, and hundreds of articles of home consumption. In short, *through public franchises granted by the people,* we have permitted small groups of men to exercise tyrannous and despotic power over the fortunes, the happiness, and the peaceful pursuits of millions of American freemen; and since history but repeats itself,

these same men, before our very eyes, have acted squarely upon the principle and precept of the barons of the middle ages:

> "The good old rule, the simple plan:
> That they shall take, who have the power,
> And they shall keep who can."

By reason of vast wealth thus accumulated, and by reason of the despotic power which they wield with silent, secret, and deadly precision, we now see press and pulpit treating them with trembling deference and respect; we see Presidents, legislators, judges, and all aspiring politicians openly fawning for their favor; we see our ablest men in professional and business life struggling in eager rivalry to win the rich prizes of recognition and profit which they have to dispense; and we see kings and courts of Europe conferring upon them the most distinguished attentions. Little wonder that monstrosities of money greed should regard themselves as the elect of our kind; and no wonder at all that they account their millions won in Wall Street as the reward which society rightfully bestows upon its "master minds"—its wonder-working Captains of Finance!

But as the result of this system—or lack of system; as the natural, logical, and inevitable outcome of legislation for the exclusive benefit of a few at the direct expense of the many, we are now confronted by the most appalling contrasts in social conditions ever known in American history—contrasts which simply amaze and confound intelligent Europeans who come to study

our achievements and who are familiar with our past history.

Upon the one hand, we have a few men in possession of wealth and power which staggers the imagination and spreads the gravest alarm; we have a fashionable society of the vulgar rich who live in regal splendor, "competing with each other in contests of ostentation" and aping the worst forms of degenerate European aristocracy; we have heads of families whose highest hope is to buy impoverished foreign titles, with American maidens as the sorry victims; we have a "smart set" who fill the newspapers with sensational tales of intrigue, divorce, and scandal—"a more contemptible crew never played their pranks before high heaven;" we have shoals of silly rich people in Boston, in New York, and in Washington, who are now thinking, and saying, that our institutions are insecure and we shall have to go back to some form of monarchy or "strong government"; and we have one insufferable millionaire who literally outdoes Barnum in spectacular self-advertisement—a man who brazenly preaches poverty for other people while living in lordly splendor in his Scottish castle; who lectures fashionable society on the evils of vain show, and then "flabbergasts" the Four Hundred by exchanging hospitalities with his King; who makes a business of benevolence while he shames the face of sweet charity with sensational giving; who "cultivates his soul" in widely-heralded and solemn public services to dedicate millions in godless money or monuments of masonry boldly branded with his name; and

who, all the while, leads the van of political corruption by adroitly preaching Protection for America, where he makes his money, and preaching Free Trade for Britain, where he makes his home.

> "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves."

Upon the other hand—heaven forgive our selfish negligence!—we have millions of free-born American men, women, and helpless little children who spend their lives in dire struggle for bare necessities, with grim want ever haunting the future; we have tens of thousands who are annually plunged into the gulf of pauperism itself; we have thousands of noble men and women whose sympathies have impelled them to become trained experts in the systematic and steady work of administering needed charity; we have a sinful and awful record of *increasing* pauperism, insanity, crime, and suicide, which has been *rising by leaps and bounds,* while aristocratic and monarchical Europe *has checked the increase* and faced the need for better conditions; and worst of all, as a Nation of eighty million freemen, in secure possession of the richest and proudest heritage ever left to mankind, we have been so scourged by panic and long periods of depression, that most of our leaders shiver with cowardly fear before the brutal and senseless threats of the brazen millionaires who tell us that another panic is inevitable if we touch the tariff or fail to renew their lease of power!

Whole libraries have been written about the appalling increase of pauperism which has come upon us since the Civil War, and the ghastly story parades itself so continually in the newspapers that we have become hardened to it—have come to feel that the curse is chronic and inevitable. But the strong men who framed American institutions entertained no such stupid and insufferable ideas. Their plain purpose was none other than to free us, AS THEY FREED THEMSELVES, from precisely those conditions which now so afflict the poor and so affright the timid.

Witness this from the inspiring Introduction which George Bancroft wrote for his great History of the United States when he published it in 1834:

"While the nations of Europe aspire for change, our constitution engages the fond admiration of the people, by which it has been established. Prosperity follows the execution of even justice; invention is quickened by the freedom of competition; and labor rewarded with sure and unexampled returns. . . . A gallant navy protects our commerce, which spreads its banners on every sea, and extends its enterprise to every clime. . . . Every man may enjoy the fruits of his industry; every mind is free to publish its convictions. . . . New States are forming in the wilderness; canals, intersecting our plains and crossing our highlands, open numerous channels to internal commerce; manufacturers prosper along our water courses; the use of steam on our rivers and railroads annihilates distance by the acceleration of speed. Our wealth and population, already giving us a place in the first rank of nations, are so rapidly cumulative that the former is increased four-fold, and the latter is doubled, in every period of twenty-two or twenty-three years. There is no national debt, the government is economical, and the public treasury full. . . . There are more daily journals in the United States than in the world beside. . . . Other governments are convulsed by the

innovations and reforms of neighboring states; our constitution, fixed in the affections of the people, from whose choice it has sprung, neutralizes the influence of foreign principles, and fearlessly opens an asylum to the virtuous, the unfortunate, and the oppressed of every nation."

And witness this unequivocal testimony by the great French philosopher, M. de Tocqueville, who made a prolonged stay for study and observation among us while Andrew Jackson was making immortal history in the White House; and who then went home to write a book—"Democracy in America"—which every thinking American now needs to study closely:

"In America I saw the freest and most enlightened men, placed in the happiest circumstances that the world affords."

"Almost all the Americans are in easy circumstances, and can therefore obtain the first elements of human knowledge . . . . there are comparatively few who are rich enough to live without a profession."

"In the United States I never heard of a man spending his wealth to corrupt the populace."

"In America, those complaints against property in general, which are so frequent in Europe, are never heard; because in America *there are no paupers;* and as every one has property of his own to defend, every one recognizes the principle upon which he holds it."

"I never met in America with any citizen so poor as not to cast a glance of hope and envy on the enjoyments of the rich, or whose imagination did not possess itself by anticipation of those good things which fate still obstinately withheld from him."

—*M. de Tocqueville in 1835.*

So many men and women still living, and in full possession of all their faculties, can give

verbal testimony to the astonishing change which has come over American society since the Civil War, that it will not be necessary for me to go into lengthy details to prove the contrast. In one brief chapter, following this, I shall present evidence which ought to be enough to silence the loud-mouthed and shameless demagogues who go about boasting that the American people are more prosperous than ever before in their history. That is untrue! And because it is untrue, because millions of free men, free women, and little children who ought to be free, have suffered, and still suffer, oppression and injustice which their fathers never knew—for full thirty years past the political and industrial atmosphere of the United States has been a storm-center of angry, impassioned, and desperate conflict over the wildest theories of reform that have ever been presented for the consideration of an intelligent, thinking people.

First we had the greenback craze, raging at its height in 1874, and in obedience to which a Republican Congress passed a bill which would have plunged us into an abyss of paper money inflation, had not President Grant—brave soldier and great General that he was!—vetoed the bill. In a later chapter I shall show that the greenbacks gave us the panic of 1873, and the resumption of specie payments gave us the great boom of 1880-90.

But the fiat-money fallacy was far from dead; and seeing this, the silver miners of the West promptly began their propaganda. Being strongly represented in both Senate and House,

they simply traded favors with the Protection schemers of the East. The Republican Congress of 1878 passed the Bland-Allison act; and the Republican Congress of 1890 passed the Sherman Silver Coinage law—the latter being the price deliberately paid to the silver miners for votes enough to pass the McKinley bill. Thus, the panic of 1893, and the free-silver craze which followed it, were the direct, obvious, and inevitable outcome of Congressional favors granted to special interests—at the people's incalculable cost!

Hand in hand with the greenback craze, we had the rise of the Granger movement, which thanks to ex-Senator Reagan and the farmers of the great Middle West, happily resulted in the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission—the wisest, most far-reaching, and most fundamental measure of reform that has been enacted since the genius of Salmon P. Chase gave us our National Banking System.

> "Cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country and wedded to its liberty and interest by the most lasting bonds." —*Thomas Jefferson.*

In 1877 we had the awful railroad riots, inaugurating the movement for local, state and national organization among skilled workingmen, and marking the beginning of a distinctly new era of desperate, dangerous, and costly labor strikes—the end of which can never come unless both employers and labor leaders squarely recognize that fair play, and frank and friendly arbi-

tration of differences, are the only means to industrial peace while we are passing through this era of formidable and aggressive combinations of capital and labor. We shall be rid of it all in good time; but meanwhile, patience, politeness, and manly self-control, should be the watchwords of thinking freemen who are on the fighting line. Every appeal to coercion and force is a mistake —a deplorable calamity—because it serves only to tighten the grip of the scheming millionaires. We MUST preserve order at any cost or consequence. Our fathers did the fighting. Now let us be brave enough to do the thinking—be strong enough *to hold ourselves* until monopoly shall be unhorsed at the ballot box. For obviously the common enemy of working employers and all working men, is now the Wall Street crowd, whose minions in our "combination" Senate—notably Aldrich and Lodge, Platt and Depew, Quay and Penrose, Hanna and Foraker, Frye and Hale, Elkins and Scott—deliberately block and manipulate every move in our national legislation and national politics.

The Henry George movement began about 1883, shortly after he published his books, and it culminated in 1886 when he was nominated for Mayor of New York City. During the progress of that movement Socialism, or the theory of government ownership, began to assume prominence; and its impracticable theories are the ones which to-day, do most to confuse the minds of earnest, honest, and public-spirited Americans. The Anarchists began to make themselves heard about 1885, and their teaching entailed the fright-

ful tragedies enacted in Chicago, and at Homestead, finally culminating in the cold-blooded and awful assassination of a President.

Biblical history, Greek and Roman history, European history, and all the libraries of political and economic history, ancient and modern, have been heavily drawn upon to supply inspiration and literature for this astonishing propaganda of pure theory. But nowhere have I been able to find among the reformers even one thinker, writer, or active worker, who seems to appreciate the perfectly obvious fact that our Revolutionary fathers wrought into our Constitution and wrote into our statute laws, the most fundamental, radical, and far-reaching reforms that have ever been achieved at a given time in the world's history of political science.

> "The Constitution of the United States is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."
> —*Gladstone.*

In consequence of this neglect of American history, and in consequence of the utter confusion of thought now current, we have Mr. Jerome, the courageous and honest reformer, bravely telling us that:

> "The great fakir Jefferson said men were born equal. I say that many are not born equal; and God forbid the time when there are not better, purer, wiser people than we are, to go to for inspiration and courage."

Dr. Felix Adler, founder and leader of the

Ethical Culture Society, immediately responds by telling us that:

> "There is a false and a true Democracy. The false declares that all men are equal. This is untrue, and neither a government nor a society can be built upon its fiction."

These two gentlemen will doubtless be surprised upon learning that the Continental Congress was a legal body; that the Declaration of Independence was a legal document; and that the equality which it proclaimed was EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW. For in that day Royalty maintained among us institutions giving a monarch and a titled aristocracy legal privileges denied to other men—precisely as in this day our ruling millionaires enjoy princely legal privileges which have fabulously enriched the few, at the burdensome expense of the many.

Dr. Lyman Abbott, the gifted, eloquent, and altruistic successor to Henry Ward Beecher in the Plymouth pulpit, seeing no other hope, tells the students at Yale that:

> "Socialism in this country I believe to be irresistible, and I believe that it ought not to be resisted. Herbert Spencer wrote fifty years ago that Socialism could be prevented by nothing but civil war, bloodshed and despotism. I do not agree with this. I believe that this, like every great question, will be debated by the American public and settled without bloodshed."
>
> "The peril to America is not in the greatness of the organization, but in the direction which it shall take. Believe me, this movement toward organization is not alone irresistible; it is beneficial."

You are both right and wrong, Dr. Abbott:

We shall debate the question, and we shall settle it without bloodshed. But instead of turning back to Plato, who lived before Christ was born, and who thought and wrote for a civilization which wrecked itself upon the rocks and shoals of his theories, we shall simply turn back to see how Samuel Adams, George Mason, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, and Abraham Lincoln met and mastered grave troubles in their time; and we shall fearlessly follow the broad highway which they cleared for us. For here were the great apostles of "government of the people by the people and for the people;" here were the bold thinkers and the dauntless leaders whose genius burned with determination to DEMONSTRATE the principle of EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW; and in all the written records of political history, ancient and modern, no nobler literature was ever penned, and no grander work was ever done in the cause of liberty, opportunity, and human happiness.

Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis, the brilliant young divine who has succeeded Dr. Abbott in Beecher's pulpit, gives comfort to the monopolists—gives Carnegie, Rockefeller and Morgan all they want —by teaching that there are "combinations of wealth that *have lessened the cost of production;*" and then proceeds "to make a plea for the non-union man's right to be a non-union man" —telling us that 80 per cent. of our workingmen are outside the unions. Does it occur to Dr. Hillis that the men composing this 80 per cent. are not only independent of trades unions, but would spurn sympathetic pleas in their behalf? Is he

aware that the coal barons make a business of importing "scab" labor into the coal regions, *for the specific purpose of forcing wages down?*

"In that unhappy anthracite country the employers will tell you openly and with unconscious bravado, that they must get in cheaper and cheaper labor to keep wages down, else they could make no money."

"An absurd surplus of some thirty thousand men hangs about the mines, and every attempt that they have made to secure the real advantages of organization among themselves has been fought with obstinate ill will by the masters."

"It is true that the presence of sixteen nationalities, many of them with the lowest standard of living, is an extremely annoying fact, but the employing class has its definite responsibilities for the present quality of miners. Such as they are, *they have been expressly encouraged to come, in order to keep wages low.*" —*John Graham Brooks.*

Clearly Dr. Hillis has been deceived into making a plea for men, women, and little children who would gladly flee to the standard of their brave brothers, but who are so downtrodden, so poverty-stricken, that dread starvation drives them to accept work at any wages or upon any terms that may be offered! For although Dr. Hillis has been confused by false testimony, he is yet true to the faith which inspires him with the high courage needful to uttering these blistering truths:

"During the past year we have made history rapidly. From combinations of wealth that have lessened the cost of production, we have gone swiftly to combinations for plunder, that represent stock, watered indefinitely, and foisted upon the public by greedy and unscrupulous stock jugglers.

"If the corporate capitalists could honestly say in the sight of men and God, there is not one dollar of watered stock in

these mines or in our railway stocks—the dividend is paid on the absolute cost—they would have the sympathy of all the public.

"The time has come for selfish capitalists, growing fat through their gains, their withholding the wage of the poor, and their watering of stock, to stop going to horse shows on Sunday, to give up their wines and their women, and their deviltry in general, and go to church, fall on their knees and make restitution of their ill-gotten gains, saying, 'God be merciful to me, a sinner.'"

Whitelaw Reid, editor of the *New York Tribune,* national organ of the Protection party, late candidate for Vice-President, late Special Envoy to the Coronation of King Edward, and many times a millionaire himself—Mr. Reid scores President Roosevelt for his action in settling the coal strike, in this threatening and suggestive language:

"Not until 1865 was it even established throughout the United States that every man has the right to sell his own labor; and in 1902, in your State and in mine, there were still found a great many men, including a pitiful number of exceptionally ignorant or emotional clergymen, and some people called statesmen, who considered such a right so doubtful that they were not ashamed to urge, for the sake of peace, and coal, that it should be submitted to arbitration."

"If our form of government is the best, it cannot be so because it is the cheapest. On the contrary, it is one of the most expensive in the world.

"Our form of government cannot be the best because it is the most efficient. On the contrary, it is one of the slowest in the world; the most complicated, cumbrous and limited.

"We are the oldest republic in the world (save those so small as to be negligible), but our years do not cover the span the Psalmist assigned to two human lives, while those of the monarchies and despotisms count by thousands. Other republics, long since passed away, have lasted as long as we, and borne for their time as great a sway in the world."

If this poor boy from Ohio, whose man's mind is so pitifully mystified by the millions he now enjoys, will simply look up the record of what Samuel Adams did in Town-meeting for our Tories, our titled aristocrats, and the British armies and navies in Revolutionary times; and then if he will calculate the number of townships and Town-meetings in the United States to-day, I fancy his ominous fears for our future will give place to a conclusion that, come what may, we can probably muster enough "embattled farmers" to take care of ourselves—in spite of his teaching!

"There are two subjects which I shall claim a right to further as long as I have breath: the public education and the subdivision of the counties into wards (townships). I consider the continuance of Republican government as absolutely hanging on these two hooks."

"Where every man is a sharer in the direction of his ward republic or of some of the higher ones, and feels that he is a participator in the government of affairs, not merely at an election one day in the year, but every day; when there shall not be a man in the State who will not be a member of some one of its councils, great or small, he will let the heart be torn out of his body sooner than his power be wrested from him by a Cæsar or Bonaparte." —*Thomas Jefferson.*

Young John D. Rockefeller, Jr., reveals something of the canker of conscience now steadily at work in his family circle by telling his Sunday-school scholars:

"There is a general opinion that wealth produces happiness. Wealth alone cannot produce complete happiness. I do not care who the man is—or how much worldly success he has achieved—if he has secured his success along selfish lines he

is not entirely happy. To secure genuine success one must make his life a useful one to others as well as to himself.

"True success, and every man should appreciate it, is not wealth, but the influence one extends over others. You all possess a degree of influence over others—let it be for good. The man who passes away leaving a good influence, has won far greater success than the rich man who lives only in himself."

Senator Hoar, who has devoted a long lifetime to the advocacy of Protection for the special benefit of his Massachusetts constituents, tells us that:

"The whipping post, the branding on the forehead, the cropping of the ears, the scourging at the cart's tail, are light punishment for the rich man who would debauch a state, whether it be an old state with an honorable history, or a young and pure state in the beginning of its history."

And so I might go on indefinitely, multiplying extracts from public addresses reported in the newspapers, to show the astonishing lack of information, the utter confusion of thought, and the widespread misconception of American institutions now current. But enough of this welter of confusion.

The awful extremes of wealth and pauperism which now confront us were unknown to American experience previous to the Civil War—though they are as old as Kings, aristocracies, and legal privileges in Europe. They represent the identical condition of European society which our fathers fought and planned that we might escape. And every evil that oppresses us, every menace that affrights us, is traceable directly to an abuse of our inheritance, to a departure from

the American system of EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW.

What, then, are the remedies?

I shall later devote several chapters to a full discussion of the remedies which well-tried experience and plain common sense will clearly suggest—remedies which a new President and a new Congress will surely make effective, when the people so will. But to anticipate, a few paragraphs will here suffice to indicate briefly the needful steps:

(1) We require the immediate passage of a currency reform measure which will make an end of our confused and senseless issues of all kinds of money, and give us instead a simple, elastic, and adequate volume of national bank currency—*every dollar of it redeemable in gold by the banks of issue!* This is imperatively necessary as a means of safely increasing the volume of our money, in proportion to the enormous increase in the volume of business; and only by this means can we render it impossible for Wall Street "financiers" to corner the money market, and periodically alarm the nation with threats of panic when it suits their interest to carry an election, to grab a railroad or to put stocks up and then put stocks down.

(2) We require the immediate passage of a tariff reform measure which will remove the trust-protecting duties from beef and coal, iron and steel, hides and leather, copper, tin, lead, drugs, chemicals—in short, every article that enters into home manufacture, and the necessary consumption of farmers and wage earners. The immediate effect of this would be to lower the

cost of all the materials of manufacture, and to cheapen a long list of articles which enter into home consumption. Every factory in the country and every consumer in the land would be immediately benefited by such an act; and it would have the further health-giving and salutary effect of squeezing the water out of the industrial stocks which, during the past few years, have been enormously overcapitalized upon the theory that American manufacturers and consumers will be content to go on paying dividends on *paper capital which has never had any real existence.*

(3) To meet the deficiency in revenue thus created, a graduated income tax should be immediately enacted, which would entirely exempt the vast body of our farmers, wage earners, and people who work for small salaries, as well as those who depend upon small incomes from honest savings for old age. On all incomes above a minimum figure, the tax should rise in geometrical measure, so that a very considerable portion of the income from great millionaire estates could be applied each year to the rapid discharge of the nation's obligations. The British income tax, with its heavy inheritance assessments, is an admirable working model. The bill should be entitled, and should be in fact, a measure for discharging our war obligations—thus making it strictly Constitutional; and every dollar of the just taxation thus assessed, should be applied to the war debt, which is still with us, and to the payment of pensions to the brave soldiers who

fought to save our institutions, and to the widows and orphans of the heroes who died in that noble cause.

(4) As a preliminary step to the intelligent preparation of a complete and thoroughly effective law providing for publicity of the accounts of corporations, a measure should be immediately passed, authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to employ a staff of accountants, armed with authority to make a thorough examination of the books, accounts, and records of every large corporation known to be engaged in interstate commerce. The information thus secured will enable Congress to quickly frame a national statute chartering and governing national corporations—to be modeled closely after the well-tried system originated by Salmon P. Chase, which has effected a permanent solution of our national banking problem.

(5) The act of the last Congress, creating a new Department of Commerce, with a cabinet officer and a horde of office-holders under him—should be instantly repealed, as an insult to American intelligence. Its sole object was to mislead the people as to the Republican party's hypocritical professions of a desire for Publicity; to hamper and obstruct the legitimate work of the Interstate Commerce Commission; and to create a lot of new offices for hungry politicians. Every move under this new, untried, and senseless piece of legislation would be contested in the Courts—as those who passed it well knew; and hence the promoters of combinations and Trusts

would simply get an extension of time for their steady work of marketing watered stocks to unsuspecting investors.

(6) A commission should be immediately created by Congress to take in hand the fundamentally important work of rigorously investigating the fraudulent methods whereby the Public Domain has been deeded away, *contrary to the very letter of all our laws providing for homestead settlement and actual occupancy and use.* The inevitable effect of this will be to throw open to actual settlement and cultivation, millions upon millions of acres of arable land in every part of our vast Public Domain, which is now fenced in and held out of use for speculative purposes, by great corporations, by native and foreign millionaires, and by big and little "investors" who have evaded the law—who have literally locked-up natural opportunities and thus overcrowded the labor markets in all manufacturing centers.

THE SEAMY SIDE OF OUR PROSPERITY.

I see a land before me, where manhood in its pride
Forgot the solemn sentence, the wage of toil denied:
"To wealth and lofty station some royal road must be;
Our brother, bound and plundered, shall earn us luxury."
—*Julia Ward Howe.*

"I never yet saw a native American begging in the streets or highways."

"I think our people will remain virtuous for many centuries, as long as they are chiefly agricultural; and this will be as long as there are vacant lands in any part of America. When they get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, they will become corrupt as in Europe."

"Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God, if he ever had chosen people, whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue. It is the focus in which he keeps alive that sacred fire, which otherwise might escape from the earth. Corruption of morals in the mass of cultivators is a phenomenon of which no age or nation has furnished an example. Generally speaking, the proportion which the aggregate of the other classes of citizens bears in any State to that of its husbandmen, is the proportion of its unsound and healthy parts, and is a good enough barometer whereby to measure its degree of corruption."

—*Thomas Jefferson.*

Chapter IV.

The astounding increase in pauperism, insanity, crime, and child-slavery, in the United States during the past thirty years—since the panic of 1873—makes the blackest chapter in all American history. Hundreds of books have been written upon the subject; thousands of charitable workers have given testimony to the facts; billions of

taxes have been wisely appropriated by state, county, township and municipal governments, for housing and feeding millions of native-born Americans made helpless or desperate victims of environment; and wholesale philanthropy has become a fashionable fad with rich men who have millions of ill-gotten money for which they can find no other profitable use.

All of these things, in aggravated form, have come upon us within my personal observation—within the recollection of millions of American men and women who are yet in the prime of life. And this is FREE America!

It would be the folly of fanaticism to charge any one man, or any single group of men, with entire responsibility for the awful legacy of evil we have suffered; and I have no such intention. I see clearly that the responsibility rests upon many hundreds of men who have been, and are, *natural leaders of our people.* But I also see, with equal clearness, that these same leaders—those now in power and in office, like those who preceded them—have made a despicable surrender to selfish personal interest; and, not understanding, often not caring to understand, the cause of our troubles, they have simply determined to "look out for No. 1"—at the public crib!

"Not only mean and sordid, but extremely shortsighted and foolish, is that species of self-interest which, in political questions, opposeth itself to the public good; for a little cool reflection must convince a wise man that he can in no other way so effectually consult the permanent Interest of his own Family and posterity, as by securing the just rights and privileges of that society to which he belongs." —*George Mason.*

To capture an office, to monopolize a franchise, or to "fix" a duty in the Dingley bill—this is the "statesmanship" of these times. That it should have corrupted our politics, discredited our system of government, and entailed unutterable misery upon millions of the poor and lowly—is as inevitable as that selfishness begets hate and sorrow waits upon sin. And that our present rulers may see the inhuman enormities of the system they uphold and defend—that every man of them may be presented with opportunity to repent his mistakes and give honest aid in righting the wrongs that exist; let us now review, in measured terms of simple truth, the seamy side of that Prosperity which we all boast so proudly.

> "The true prosperity and greatness of a nation is to be found in the elevation and education of its laborers." —*Ulysses S. Grant.*

The poverty which haunts the lives and tries the souls of America's patient and willing workers, is practically hidden from sight. But those who seek it can easily find it everywhere; and I fancy that many "prosperous" Americans will be startled with this awful picture of child slavery in "God's own country," the Protection stronghold of Pennsylvania, where Mr. Divine-Right Baer acts as Morgan's right-hand man in the management of the anthracite coal monopoly. It will be recalled that at the beginning of the recent strike Mr. Baer gave us this message of reassurance:

> "The rights and interests of the laboring men will be protected and cared for—not by the labor agitators, but by *the*

Christian men to whom God, in His infinite wisdom, has given the control of the property interests of the country; and upon the successful management of which so much depends."

It has been aptly observed that "the same reasoning would enable some people to say that God, in his infinite wisdom, once put Devery in charge of the New York police force." But as the result of such reasoning, we shall now see how these "Christian men" have been administering their God-given trust.

As early as June 3, 1902, the New York Board of Trade and Transportation held a notable meeting and passed a series of resolutions calling upon the President to take steps to end the strike. In these resolutions is the written record of the common sense, the simple justice, the plain duty, and the statute law, which finally *forced* the President to take action. The resolutions were offered by Mr. Darwin R. James, and they were ably seconded by Mr. John D. Kernan, who had been a member of the Commission appointed by President Cleveland to settle the Pullman strike in 1894. Here are the documents in full:

"Whereas, Differences have arisen between the anthracite coal roads and their employees in the mines and a strike has been ordered calling out more than one hundred thousand miners and laborers and the production and transportation of anchracite coal has ceased; and,

"Whereas, Anthracite coal, as a fuel, has become a prime necessity of life and industry, and the threatened scarcity caused by the controversy has resulted in a large advance in the price and great hardship and injury to all consumers and a large advance in the price is imminent and will follow if the differences between the railroads and their employees in the mines are not speedily adjusted; and

"Whereas, The interests of the public are paramount to those of the parties to the controversy;

Resolved, That the attention of the President of the United States be respectfully directed to Chapter 1063 of the laws of the United States passed Oct. 1, 1888, so that he may take such action as therein provided either through the tender of arbitration by a commission, or, if such arbitration is not accepted, then by an investigation by such commission, to the end that the public may be relieved from the increasing loss and injury that threaten to result from a continuation of the conditions at present existing between the railroads and their employees in the anthracite regions."

Five months later, *after* public sentiment had frightened Mr. Roosevelt into taking the action which he should have taken long before; *after* the presence of the Pennsylvania National Guard, ten thousand strong, had proved that the miners could not be driven back to work upon terms they deemed unfair; *after* the monopoly price of coal had been forced to over twenty dollars per ton; *after* the coal barons had been exposed and balked in their deliberate plan of starving and freezing the sturdy miners into submission—as they had frequently done before—then it was that John Mitchell's long-standing, oft-repeated, and thoroughly patriotic proposal of arbitration was finally accepted. Immediately thereafter *McClure's Magazine* commissioned Mr. Francis E. Nichols to go into the coal regions to get the facts—to describe only what he saw and knew to be true, and thereby afford the public an opportunity to judge the evidence before vivid recollection of the enormities of the strike had faded from view. Mr. Nichols' record of his work, with speaking illustrations, appears in *McClure's*

Magazine for February, 1903, under the title, "Children of the Coal Shadow." In the same number, Miss Tarbell gives a thrilling chapter in her revelations of Standard Oil methods. These are some of the facts that Mr. Nichols reports—with the sledge-hammer deliberation of a judge delivering a sentence upon the guilty:

"According to the mining laws of Pennsylvania, 'no boy under the age of fourteen shall be employed in a mine, nor shall a boy under the age of twelve be employed in or about the outside structures or workings of a colliery' (*i. e.*, in a breaker). Yet no one who stands by the side of a breaker boss and looks up at the tiers of benches that rise from the floor to the coal-begrimed roof can believe for a minute that the law is complied with in the case of one in ten of the tiny figures in blue jumpers and overalls bending over the chutes. The mine inspector and the breaker boss will explain that 'these boys look younger than their ages is,' and that a sworn certificate setting forth the age of every boy is on file in the office.

"Children's age certificates are a criminal institution. When a father wishes to place his son in a breaker, he obtains an 'age blank' from a mine inspector, and in its spaces he has inserted some age at which it is legal for a boy to work. He carries the certificate to a notary public or justice of the peace, who, in consideration of a fee of twenty-five cents, administers oath to the parent and affixes a notarial seal to the certificate.

"According to the ethics of the coal fields, it is not wrong for a miner or his family to lie or to practice any form of deceit in dealing with coal-mine operators or owners. A parent is justified in perjuring himself as to his son's age on a certificate that will be filed with the mine superintendent, but any statement made to a representative of a union must be absolutely truthful. For this reason my inquiries of mine boys as to their work and wages were always conducted under the sacred auspices of the union.

"The interrogative colloquy was invariably something like this:

"'How old are you?'"

"*Boy:* 'Thirteen; going on fourteen.'"

"*Secretary of the Local:* 'On the level now. this is union business. You can speak free, understand.'"

"*Boy:* 'Oh, dat's a diffurnt t'ing altogether. I'm nine years old. I've been working since me fadder got hurted in th' explosion in No. 17 a year ago last October.'"

"All day long their little fingers dip into the unending grimy stream that rolls past them in the breakers. The coal so closely resembles slate that it can be detected only by the closest scrutiny, and the childish faces are compelled to bend so low over the chutes that prematurely round shoulders and narrow chests are the inevitable result. In front of the chutes is an open space reserved for the 'breaker boss,' who watches the boys as intently as they watch the coal.

"The boss is armed with a stick, with which he occasionally raps on the head and shoulders a boy who betrays lack of zeal. The breakers are supposed to be heated in winter, and a steam pipe winds up the wall; but in cold weather every pound of steam is needed in the mines, so that the amount of heat that radiates from the steam pipe is not sufficient to be taken seriously by any of the breakers' toilers. From November until May a breaker boy always wears a cap and tippet, and overcoat if he possesses one, but because he has to rely largely upon the sense of touch, he cannot cover his finger-tips with mittens or gloves; from the chafing of the coal his fingers sometimes bleed, and his nails are worn down to the quick. The hours of toil for slate-pickers are supposed to be from seven in the morning until noon, and from one to six in the afternoon; but when the colliery is running on 'full capacity orders,' the noon recess is reduced to half an hour, and the good-night whistle does not blow until half-past six. For this eleven hours work the breaker boy gets no more pay than for ten.

"The wages of breaker boys are about the same all over the coal regions. When he begins to work at slate-picking a boy receives forty cents a day, and as he becomes more expert the amount is increased until at the end of, say, his fourth year in the breaker, his daily wage may have reached ninety cents. This is the maximum for an especially industrious and skillful boy. The average is about seventy cents a day. From the ranks

of the older breaker boys are chosen door-boys and runners, who work in the mines below ground.

"While the miner's son is working in the breaker or mine it is probable that his daughter is employed in a mill or factory. Sometimes in a mining town, sometimes in a remote part of the coal fields, one comes upon a large, substantial building of wood or brick. When the six o'clock whistle blows, its front door is opened, and out streams a procession of girls. Some of them are apparently seventeen or eighteen years old, the majority are from thirteen to sixteen, but quite a number would seem to be considerably less than thirteen. Such a building is one of the knitting mills or silk factories that during the last ten years have come into Anthracite.

"Anthracite is away from the main lines of railroad; it is at an unnecessarily long distance from the markets where the product of the mill is sold; the raw material used on the spindles and looms must be transported from afar.

"The factory inspector will tell you, 'The mills locate in Anthracite because they all employ girls, and girl labor is cheaper here than anywhere else.' A glance at a 'textile' map of Pennsylvania will show that wherever there are miners, there cluster mills that employ 'cheap girl labor.'

"The perjury certificate prevails for the girls, as well as the boys, and I estimate that 90 per cent. of the 11,216 females (so employed) are girls who have not yet reached womanhood. They work ten hours a day, and the majority stand all of that time, having a chance to sit only in the noon hour. This brings on a characteristic lameness in the girls during their first year at the mill. The report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs of the state places the 'average daily wage of children between the ages of thirteen and sixteen' employed in the manufacturing of underwear at forty-seven cents, in hosiery mills at forty-six cents.

"Through a district organizer I was enabled to interview under union auspices a number of little girls who were employed in a knitting mill. One girl of fifteen said that she was the oldest of seven children. She had worked in the mill since she was nine years old. Her father was a miner. As pay-for 'raveling' she received an amount between $2.50 and $3 every two weeks. Another thirteen-year-old raveler had worked

since the death of her father, two years before, from miner's asthma; her brother had been killed in the mine. The $3 she received every two weeks in her pay envelope supported her mother and her ten-year-old sister. A girl of fourteen had 'looked over' stockings for two years. She was able to make about $4 every two weeks. A 'looper' of fifteen received $6 every fortnight. She had worked for four years. Her father was a confirmed invalid. Yet all these children seemed to take great pride in assuring me that their 'papers was all right and sworn to when we started to work.'

"The breaker boss finds at the mill or factory a counterpart in the 'forelady.' This personage holds a prominent place in the civilization of Anthracite. It is taken for granted that the forelady must be habitually hateful, and in all controversies side with the proprietor against the rest of the girls. It is her duty to crush incipient strikes, and to do all in her power to 'break' the union. She enjoys being hated by every one, and leads an isolated life of conscious rectitude for about $5 a week.

" 'How many pairs of socks can a girl make in a day?' I asked a forelady. 'They can easy do forty dozen pair if they is good workers, but none of them is good. They all is kickers. That's what's the matter with them,' was her reply.

"And they do 'kick,' both boys and girls. They are organized to 'kick.' The children have their unions as well as the grown folk. Almost as soon as the breaker boy's certificate is accepted and placed on file in the colliery office he makes application to become a member of the 'Junior Local,' the members of which are all boys under sixteen. Their weekly meetings take place at night, and are conducted with the utmost secrecy, the members being admitted only by password. The monthly dues range from ten to twenty-five cents, in accordance with the wages received by the members.

"Every Junior Local has its full quota of officers, from president to corresponding secretary, elected semi-annually by the boys. To the weekly meetings of the Junior Local the regular Miners' Union of the district sends a representative, but he is not an officer of the Juniors; he acts only as referee and instructor.

"Painfully ludicrous and pitiful as it all is, it is perfectly understandable. The children of the Coal Shadow have no

child life. The little tots are sullen, the older children fight; they rarely play, and almost their only amusement is, as we have seen, the union and the strike that is the logical result of the conditions of their existence. They have no friends. Their parents, driven by what they think is necessity, forswear them into bondage. Their employers, compelled by what they regard as economic forces, grind them to hatred. The State, ruled by influences, either refrains from amalgamating laws or corrective enforcement. The rest of the world doesn't care. So the shadow of the coal heap lies dark upon these 'unionized' little ones as they grow up to be men and women. Within a few years the breaker boy will be a miner. It is the only trade with which he is familiar, and his lack of education will make a commercial or professional career for him almost impossible. He will have to live in Anthracite, because it is the only country where a hard-coal miner can follow his trade. The mill girl will marry early in life; her husband will be a miner. They will both be American citizens. They will remain in the Coal Shadow."

Now witness this parallel picture of heart-rending and helpless "white slavery in the South"—a literal slaughter of little children that the cost of production may be kept down and that ten per cent. dividends may be declared upon Northern capital:

"Next to Massachusetts, South Carolina manufactures more cotton cloth than any other State in the Union. The cotton mills of South Carolina are mostly owned and operated by New England capital.

"In many instances the machinery of the cotton mills has been moved entire from Massachusetts to South Carolina. The move was made for the ostensible purpose of being near the raw product; but the actual reason is, that in South Carolina there is no law regulating child-labor. Heartless cupidity has joined hands with brutal ignorance, and the result is child-labor of so terrible a type that African slavery was a paradise compared with it.

"Many of the black slaves lived to a good old age, and they

got a hearty enjoyment from life. The infant factory slaves of South Carolina can never develop into men and women. There are no mortality statistics; the mill owners baffle all attempts of the outside public to get at the facts, but my opinion is, that in many mills death sets the little prisoner free inside of four years. Beyond that he cannot hope to live, and this opinion is derived from careful observation, and interviews with several skilled and experienced physicians who practice in the vicinity of the mills.

"Boys and girls from the age of six years and upwards are employed. They usually work from six o'clock in the morning until seven at night. For four months of the year they go to work before daylight and they work until after dark.

"At noon I saw them squat on the floor and devour their food, which consisted mostly of corn bread and bacon. These weazened pigmies munched in silence, and then toppled over in sleep on the floor in all the abandon of babyhood. Very few wore shoes and stockings; dozens of little girls of, say, seven years of age wore only one garment, a linsey-woolsey dress. When it came time to go to work the foreman marched through the groups, shaking the sleepers, shouting in their ears, lifting them to their feet and in a few instances kicking the delinquents into wakefulness.

"The long afternoon had begun—from a quarter to one until seven o'clock they worked without respite or rest.

"These toddlers, I saw, for the most part did but one thing—they watched the flying spindles on a frame twenty feet long, and tied the broken threads. They could not sit at their tasks; back and forward they paced, watching with inanimate, dull look, the flying spindles. The roar of the machinery drowned every other sound—back and forth paced the baby toilers in their bare feet, and mended the broken threads. Two, three or four threads would break before they could patrol the twenty feet—the threads were always breaking!

"The noise and the constant looking at the flying wheels reduce nervous sensation in a few months to the minimum. The child does not think, he ceases to suffer—memory is as dead as hope: no more does he long for the green fields, the running streams, the freedom of the woods, and the companionship of all the wild, free things that run, climb, fly, swim or burrow. He

does his work like an automaton: he is a part of the roaring machinery: memory is seared, physical vitality is at such low ebb that he ceases to suffer. Nature puts a short limit on torture by sending it insensibility. If you suffer, thank God! —it is a sure sign you are alive.

"I thought to lift one of the little toilers to ascertain his weight. Straightway through his thirty-five pounds of skin and bones there ran a tremor of fear, and he struggled forward to tie a broken thread. I attracted his attention by a touch, and offered him a silver dime. He looked at me dumbly, from a face that might have belonged to a man of sixty, so furrowed, tightly drawn and full of pain it was. He did not reach for the money—he did not know what it was. I tried to stroke his head and caress his cheek. My smile of friendship meant nothing to him—he shrank from my touch, as though he expected punishment. A caress was unknown to this child, sympathy had never been his portion, and the love of a mother who only a short time before held him in her arms, had all been forgotten in the whir of wheels and the awful silence of a din that knows no respite.

"There were dozens of just such children in this particular mill. A physician who was with me said that they would all be dead, probably in two years, and their places filled with others—there were plenty more. Pneumonia carries off most of them. Their systems are ripe for disease, and when it comes, there is no rebound—no response. Medicine simply does not act—nature is whipped, beaten, discouraged, and the child sinks into a stupor, and dies.

"For these things let Massachusetts answer.

"South Carolina weaves cotton that Massachusetts may wear silk.

"South Carolina cannot abolish child-labor because the mill owners, who live in New England, oppose it. They have invested their millions in South Carolina, with the tacit understanding with Legislature and Governor that there shall be no state inspection of mills, nor interference in any way with their management of employees. Each succeeding election the candidates for the Legislature secretly make promises that they will not pass a law forbidding child-labor. They cannot hope

for election otherwise—the capitalists combine with the "crackers," and any man who favors the restriction of child-labor is marked.

"I learned from a reliable source that a cotton mill having a pay-roll of six thousand dollars a week in New England, can be run in the South for four thousand dollars a week. This means a saving of just one hundred thousand dollars a year: and the mill having a capital of one million dollars thus gets a clear gain of ten per cent. per annum.

"One mill at Columbia, S. C., has a capital of two million dollars. In half a dozen other cities there are mills with a capital of a million or more. These mills all have 'company department stores,' where the employees trade. A certain credit is given, and the employe who has a dollar coming to him in cold cash is very, very rare. The cashier of one mill told me that nineteen families out of twenty never see any cash, and probably never will. The account is kept with the head of the house. Against him are charged house-rent, insurance, fuel—three things the man never thought of. Next, the orders drawn on the company must be met. Then come groceries, clothing and gew-gaws that the young women are tempted into buying, providing the account is not too much overdrawn. Sometimes it happens that the account is so much overdrawn by the last of the month that the storekeeper will dole out only corn-meal and bacon—just these two things to prevent starvation and keep the family at work.

"The ingenuity displayed in securing the laborers reveals the 'instincts of Connecticut,' to use the phrase of Ralph Waldo Emerson. There are men called 'Employing Agents' who drive through the country and make the acquaintance of the poor whites—the 'white trash.'

"The Employing Agent drops in on this poor white family and there is much friendly conversation—for time is no object to the cracker. Gradually the scheme is unfolded. There is a nice man who owns a mill—he will not employ negroes—they are not sufficiently intelligent. The visitor can get work for all the women and the children of the household with this nice man. There will be no work for the man of the house, but he can get

odd jobs in the town. This suits the cracker—he does not want to work. A house will be supplied gratis for them to live in. A photograph of the house is shown—it is a veritable palace compared with the place they now call home. The visitor goes away, promising to call again the next week. He comes back and reports that he has seen his friend, the house is ready, work is waiting, wages in cash will be paid every Saturday night.

"A printed agreement is produced and signed.

"If the cracker hasn't quite energy enough to move, the Employing Agent packs up his scanty effects and advances money for car fare. The family land in the mill town, are quartered in one of the company's cottages and go to work—the mother and all the children over five. The head of the house stays at home to do the housework, and being a man, of course, does not do it. He goes to the grocery or some other loafing place where there are other men in the same happy condition as himself. Idle men in the South, as elsewhere, do not feel very well—they need a little stimulant, and take it. The cracker discovers he can get whiskey and pay for it with an order on the company.

"He is very happy, and needless to say, is quite opposed to any fanatic who would like to interfere in his family relations. He is not aware of it, but he has sold his wife and children into a five years' slavery. The company threatens and has the right to discharge them all if one quits—even the mother is not free. But the cracker knows his rights—he is the head of his family, the labor of his children is his until the girls are eighteen and the boys twenty-one. He knows these things and he starts them off to their work while it is yet night. And at the mill the overseers look after them. These overseers are Northern men—sent down by the capitalists. In war time the best slave-drivers were Northerners—they have the true spirit and get the work done. If necessary they do not hesitate to 'reprove' their charges.

"But the cracker wants to be kind; he wants to accumulate enough money to buy a home in the country—it will take only a few years! The overseers do not wish to be brutal, but they have to report to the superintendents,—there must be so much cloth made every day. The superintendent is not a bad man—but he has to make a daily report to the president of the company; and the president has to report to the stockholders.

"The stockholders live in Boston, and all they want is their dividends. When they go South they go to Pinehurst, Asheville or St. Augustine. Details of the mills are not pleasant; they simply leave matters to the good men who operate the mills—it is against their policy to dictate.

"Capital is King, not cotton. But capital is blind and deaf to all that is not to its interest: it will not act while child-labor means ten per cent. dividends on industrial stocks.

"Instead of abolishing child-labor, capital gives a lot, near the mill property, to any preacher who will build a church, and another lot for a parsonage, and then agrees to double the amount any denomination will raise for a church edifice.

"Within a quarter of a mile from one cotton mill, at Columbia, S. C., I counted seven churches, completed or in process of erection.

"And that is the way the mill owners capture the clergy.

"We have heard much about the danger that follows an alliance between church and state; but what think you of a partnership between grasping greed and religion—the professed religion of the suffering, bleeding Christ, the Christ who had not where to lay his head!

"If the child workers of South Carolina could be marshalled by bugle call, headed with fife and drum, and marched through Commonwealth avenue, out past that statue of William Lloyd Garrison, erected by the sons of the men who dragged him through the streets at a rope's end, the sight would appall the heart and drive conviction home. Imagine an army of twenty thousand pigmy bondsmen, half naked, half starved, yellow, weazened, deformed in body, with drawn faces that show spirits too dead to weep, too hopeless to laugh, too pained to feel! Would not aristocratic Boston lock her doors, bar the shutters and turn in shame from such a sight?

"I know the sweat shops of Hester street, New York; I am familiar with the vice, depravity and degradation of the Whitechapel District; I have visited the Ghetto of Venice; I know the lot of the coal miners of Pennsylvania; and I know somewhat of Siberian atrocities; but for misery, woe and hopeless suffer-

ing, I have never seen anything to equal the cotton mill slavery of South Carolina—this in my own America—the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave!

"The iniquity of this New Slavery in the New South has grown up out of conditions for which no one man, or class of men, it seems is amenable. The interests of the cracker, the preacher, the overseer, the superintendent, the president, and the stockholders, are so involved that they cannot see the truth—their feet are ensnared, and they sink into the quicksands of hypocrisy, deceiving themselves with specious reasons. They must be educated, and the people must be educated.

"So it remains for that small, yet valiant band of men and women in the South, who are fighting this iniquity, to hold fast and not leave off in their work until the little captives are made free. Right will surely win. And to these earnest men and women who are braving ostracism, and who are often scorned in their own homes, who have nothing to gain but the consciousness of having done right, we reach friendly hands across the miles, and out of the silence we send them blessings and bid them be strong and of good cheer. Seemingly they fight alone, but they are not alone, for the great, throbbing, melting mother-heart of the world, has but to know of their existence to be one with them." —*Elbert Hubbard.*

Following Mr. Hubbard's lead, the *New York Herald,* and many other trustworthy newspapers, have since given us graphic portrayals of the horrors of child-labor in numerous industries throughout the North—have indeed shown that child slavery exists in every State in the Union, without a single exception; and that everywhere parents plead poverty and necessity as the reason for putting the little ones to work at a time when they should all be in school and at play.

As the immediate result of this splendid newspaper work, South Carolina has already done herself high credit by passing a law intended to abate the evil. But it is hopeless to rely upon

mere statute law—as Pennsylvania experience clearly proves. The trouble lies deeper. Mother love would protect the little ones, just as mother love is the secure basis of all society. But the love of parents for children is rendered helpless in the face of pauperism or submission to the service of a moneyed master; and ere this book is written out, I think we shall see both the causes and certain remedies for the hideous industrial slavery which makes little children its helpless victims.

Turning now from child slavery, let us take a look at adult slavery. In his new book, "The Social Unrest," published in January, 1903, Prof. John Graham Brooks gives us this searching insight into every-day adult life the country over:

"In my own city (Boston) the conductors and motormen upon the trolley cars are carefully selected and well paid, but the question put to more than forty of them, 'Is there any chance in your position of getting on very much?' elicits usually only good-natured surprise that such a question can be asked. There is rather the dogged feeling that it must be made the best of. One said to me, 'I am thankful to get this; if I dropped out, a hundred men would jump at my chance before supper. All I hope for is to keep this job twelve years at most, at the end of which I shall have what I am getting to-day, two dollars and a quarter.' I asked him if he were married. 'Yes, and I have three children, but I have no business to have them. With city rents and market prices about Boston, I can just keep even. The best luck I expect is to stick here till I am forty, then they will want a younger man. I left my country town because farming only keeps you alive. Down here I just keep alive, too, but it ain't a graveyard, as it is up there in the hills.' Some millions of men in the United States are at the present moment in the situation of that motorman, so far as expectations are concerned. For commonplace and average

abilities, in mill and factory, the cheering promise of getting free from an 'existence wage' scarcely exists. For special gifts, the prizes never were so high as now. For ordinary capacity in the common industries the old hopes are lessened.

"We know personally, or by observation among the well-to-do citizens, that any serious lowering of income—as, for example, from $5,000 to $3,000—is looked upon as a disaster. Do people of ampler income lack imagination that they fail to see the bearings of this fact upon the threatened income of the wage earners?

"A study has been made of an eastern town in which more than four thousand American workmen receive a wage that does not average $1.85. What must it mean for a family of five persons to have this sum cut even 25 cents a day? The worst—as it is the commonest cut of all—is the large average of days in the year when there is no work, and pay stops altogether. The simplest addition of cost for the invariable necessities—food, rent, clothing—makes clear how narrow a margin is left. I choose the employees in this town because they rank distinctly above unskilled labor, and have won a standard of life from which every loss is dreaded, because the expenditure of respectability in their group is endangerd. Every little sign of respectability which the higher wage makes possible—the parlor organ, the cheap lace curtains, the beribboned furniture, the gaudily framed family crayon—soon becomes the basis of a sentiment as powerful as it is salutary. Do we imagine that their symbols of respectability mean less to them than to the fops of the fashionable quarter? I have known a man grow gray with trouble in five years because his income shrank just enough to force him to move into a less distinguished part of the town. He still had every possible comfort, but could not have the private school, the doctor and the dentist of the elite in his former neighborhood.

"In 1902, I saw in Georgia and Alabama troops of children, many under twelve, working the entire night. I had previously heard every detail of this ugly story, in which northern capital is implicated as much as southern, yet nothing but personal observation would have made me believe the extent to which this blunder goes on in our midst. Whether one finds this evil in New Jersey industries, among Illinois glass-blowers, on

the Chicago streets at night, or in the merciless sweating of the clothing trade, it is an excuseless wrong for which no extenuating word can be uttered. It is a source of disease, crime, and social weakness. That it is not a purposed cruelty, does not change the fatality of the result. A kindly employer in Alabama tells me, 'Yes, it is bad, but the parents of these children will have it.' Every argument reproduces to the letter the excuses of employers two generations ago, when Shaftesbury began his great struggle against child-labor in England.

"This stunting use of the child in industry is but a part of what is perhaps the most threatening fact of the new century, the wider and more relentless use of every known agency to keep wages (and therefore the standard of life) as low as possible. Women, children, negroes, the inhabitants of our new dependencies and every shade of immigrant, will one and all be used like pawns in the great game of immediate business advantage in the markets of the world.

"If this purpose should succeed, it has but one issue—the immense strengthening of a plutocratic administration at the top, served by an army of high-salaried helpers, with an elite of skilled and well-paid workmen, but all resting on what would be essentially a serf class of low-paid labor and this mass kept in order by an increased use of military force."

Very recently the newspapers have been regaling us daily with sensational headlines setting forth the alarming increase of divorce in the United States; and a lengthy discussion of the problem by leading divines, eminent lawyers and distinguished men and women, is immediately followed by a symposium of signed articles discussing "race-suicide"—or the disappearance of large families, and the surprising increase in the number of childless couples, old maids, and confirmed bachelors in the United States. No less a personage than President Roosevelt himself joins in deploring the latter significant tendency of the times. But, to my thinking, Dr. Francis L. Pat-

ton, the venerable ex-president of Princeton University, has explained the situation in a few sentences. In his notable address upon the "Place of Conscience in the National Life," delivered before the Presbyterian Social Union not long ago, he said:

"I believe that the time is not far distant when there will not be a thing that we eat, drink, or wear that will not be made by a Trust.

"If such is the case, it will not be long until it will be a financial impossibility for the average young man to get married."

Dr. Patton, the reporter says, was not enthusiastic over the statement of one of the nation's wealthiest citizens that he found more pleasure in Shakespeare and Bach than in his wealth. "It was kind to us, who are not wealthy, for him to say that; but I believe," said Dr. Patton, "that a certain amount of wealth is necessary to enjoy Shakespeare and Bach."

The divorce problem, also, is thus summarized by a talented writer in the *New York American* who does not disclose his identity, but who is evidently a close student of history and a watchful observer of the signs of the times through which we are passing. Says he:

"The total number of divorces in the United States for any given year since 1870 exceeds the figure for all the rest of the world!

"It is America against the world, with America gaining on the world at every jump!

"In 1870, 3 1-2 per cent of all marriages in this country ended in divorce. In 1881, the percentage had risen to 4.8; in 1890, it was 6.2; while in 1900 it was 8 per cent.

"In other words, the percentage of divorces in this country has more than doubled since 1870.

"Since 1890 it has more than trebled—and the tide is still rising.

"It is no unusual thing these days for a judge or justice to clean up a divorce docket of a hundred cases or more in a few hours.

"Not long ago a St. Louis judge granted sixty-two divorces in half a day, and a New York court separated seventy-three couples in exactly 450 minutes, being a little over six minutes for each case!

"In many localities the court statistics show that full 20 per cent. of the marriages are failures.

"The rapid transit idea has been reduced to its greatest efficiency in this line of separating husbands and wives and breaking up homes.

"The 'divorce mills' are working over hours.

"It is no wonder we are forced to hear from the mouth of a distinguished Western judge words like these:

"'If a man becomes dissatisfied with his wife for any cause, or a wife prefers another to her husband, she applies for a divorce without much danger of being refused. The testimony of the complaining party, with slight corroborating evidence, is sufficient.'

"What is the matter? A great many things are the matter.

"In the early part of this article reference was made to ancient Rome and to its long-time immunity from divorce; but we know that the time came in the history of the Eternal City when many of its women reckoned up their ages, not by the years they had lived, but by the number of husbands they had had.

"This condition of things was at its climax in the reign of Augustus, when Rome was outwardly omnipotent and when it looked as though her dominion might endure forever.

"But because the domestic life of the great city had gone to the dogs, it was true, though it was not at the time perceived, that the barbarians were soon to crush her.

"The 'glory which was Rome' began to fade when the purity of her homes began to decline, and no axiom in Euclid is clearer than the fact that it was the impurity of the Roman domestic life, rather than the strength of the barbarian arms, that destroyed the capital of the world.

"The question: Will history repeat itself? is answered by the

eternal truism that history is always the same when the conditions of human society are the same.

"History can repeat itself; history does repeat itself; if we are wise we will remember Rome."

I could fill a book with testimony like this. But the quotations given are quite enough to illustrate what is common knowledge among charitable workers, namely: that in every center of population and in all branches of Protected manufacturing industry, the country over, the old, the young, the unfortunate, and the unskilled, spend their lives in a constant struggle for bare necessities; live in mortal dread of being thrown out of work; and every year tens of thousands of them are forced to give up the fight and pocket pride as the price of bread. And for proof of this we need only turn to the records of Organized Charity—that unimpeachable testimony of skilled experts who devote their lives to the Master's work.

Mr. Charles D. Kellogg, for many years secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York, is my authority for the statement that previous to the panic of 1873, "there was no effort at the systematic organization of charitable work in any part of this country." The poor were with us of course, but they were comparatively few in number, and voluntary contributions by neighbors, or through church societies and small public institutions, sufficed to meet every need. "It was," says Mr. Kellogg, "the industrial depression which followed the commercial crisis of 1873, throwing crowds out of work, which seems to afford the starting point for the examination

and reformation of the methods of charity. At first those who thought that relief could, or needed to be, lifted above temporary and material aid were few in number, and were just beginning to be heard." Not until 1877 did the city of Buffalo lead off in the good work, by establishing a Charity Organization Society of the London type. Philadelphia, Syracuse and New Haven followed in 1878; Boston, Portland, Cincinnati, Indianapolis and Poughkeepsie in 1879; many other leading cities throughout the country in the years immediately following; but not until as late as 1882 was it possible to impress the numerous charitable workers in New York City with the necessity and importance of this step. Since then the work has been going forward steadily, in ever widening circles, throughout the entire United States.

It would make dreary reading to review the twenty-five years' work that these beneficent organizations have accomplished. I will, therefore, take one year as typical of the whole period; and I select 1892 as representing fair average conditions. By that time the work had been thoroughly systematized; 53 corresponding societies had been established in the larger cities throughout the country; and the panic of 1873 was nineteen years away.

"Go back to 1892, when, under a Republican administration, we found ourselves in the midst of prosperity; we found the furnaces were lighted, the spindles were humming; men were busy on every hand; happiness prevailed throughout the country."

—*Senator Marcus A. Hanna.*

"The decade between 1880 and 1890—a decade which is probably to rank as the Golden Age of the Republic, as far as material prosperity is concerned."

—*Andrew Carnegie.*

The formal and nearly uniform reports of the 53 Charity Organization Societies then at work show that in 1892 they "placed in the field of administration and personal service of the poor an army of 6,000 men and women." These same reports show that an average of *seven* out of *every ten* applicants were *in absolute need of aid* —thus summarily disproving the common ejaculation that "any man can get work in this country who wants it." Of 35,000 cases reported, 47 per cent. were under twenty years of age, and four-fifths of these mere children. Of 21,700 cases reported, 51 per cent. were native-born Americans; and of these, 76 per cent. could both read and write, while six per cent. could read but not write. Thus, dire circumstance is not only making paupers of native-born Americans, but educated Americans at that! "Lack of employment," the reports tell us, is held accountable for the most important cases of need; sickness comes next, and intemperance third; while shiftlessness and inefficiency are given as the cause of need in *less than seven per cent.* of the cases.

Now mark you, these are average conditions which represented 53 cities in every part of the United States; and they represented conditions wholly new to this country. Before the Civil War such things were unheard of.

New York is typical of every large city in the country, and so it will profit us to study the work

here in more detail. The most pitiable story that the year's work records, is the fact that during 1892, a year of fairly prosperous business conditions, there were in the city of New York alone no less than 2,786 *new families* added to the list of those who absolutely required relief; and the individuals constituting these families numbered 8,364.

In the "prosperous" year 1892, there were exactly 1,288 separate and distinct charitable organizations actively at work in the city of New York alone. The names, addresses, and active officers of these societies are given in the directory published by the Society for that year. And striking evidence of our steady and rapid increase in pauperism and chronic distress, is shown by this annual directory. These publications are uniform in type and size of page, and in 1883 the first issue required 169 pages to enumerate the separate charitable institutions throughout the city. By 1887 the book had grown to 227 pages, in 1890 to 400 pages, in 1892 to 472 pages; and for the years 1900, 1901 and 1902 it has been averaging from 680 to over 700 pages.

The immediate and awful effects of the panic of 1893 may be judged from the following figures for New York City alone: In the year 1893 the applications for assistance rose 98 per cent. in October, 46 per cent. in November, and 86 per cent. in December, over the corresponding months of 1892. The "new families dealt with" rose from 2,786 in 1892 to 5,802 in 1893; then to 7,381 in 1894; and, with the return of somewhat improved conditions, numbered 5,046 for 1895.

When the renewed depression again set-in during 1896-97, the figures rose once more; and in the latter year the annual report printed in bold italic this impressive appeal:

> *"Above all, and in a sense inclusive of all, is the need for a vast increase in the number of men and women who give personal attention to the charitable needs of their neighborhoods."*

Here is a newspaper clipping which I cut out and filed in the month of April, 1894:

"The People's Rescue Mission of Rochester (N. Y.) has compiled some figures showing the occupations of the men who came to it for lodging and relief during the month of March (1894). The great majority of the unfortunates would have been classed as tramps by the authorities, so that the list of their original means of livelihood is of interest during the hard times. Nine hundred and twenty-one men applied for lodgings or meals. About one-fourth of the number were common laborers, but every trade was represented. Next to the laborers came the machinists, of whom there were 50, and the list also included 45 carpenters, 39 teamsters, 39 masons, 34 barbers, 32 bookkeepers, 30 railroad men, 26 farmers, 26 clerks, 20 moulders, 16 metal-polishers, 14 waiters, 13 painters, 10 wagon-makers, 10 printers, 10 picture-frame makers, 10 bricklayers, 10 weavers, 8 sailors, 7 tailors, 6 firemen, 4 butchers, 5 spinners, and many other workers at trades in smaller numbers. Four artists and one photographer also applied for relief."

The return of manufacturing prosperity since 1899 has of course relieved the situation somewhat. But wretchedness is still chronic and widespread; the 53 societies of 1892 have grown to 162 in 1902, representing every part of the country; each of these is modeled after the same plan

and in regular correspondence with all the others: and all alike are co-operating with the thousands of local church societies, public institutions, and smaller groups of charitable workers in their centers of population.

What is still happening throughout the whole country may be inferred from the fact that during the past three years—while New York has been building the rapid transit tunnel, while hundreds of sky-scrapers and new buildings have been going up, and while work has never before been so plentiful or wages so high—the "number of families in charge" in New York City in 1900 was 3,131, in 1901, 3,209, and in 1902, 3,129.

The concentration of our population in cities and in manufacturing towns, is the cause now commonly assigned for this poverty, pauperism and wretchedness—and thus the evil is thoughtlessly attributed to the folly and weakness of those who leave the country where they might be independent and happy. But that explanation is much worse than stupid: It represents crass ignorance of facts which ought to be common knowledge. The concentration of population is an effect—not a cause; and the chief reason for the concentration is to be found in the one word—PROTECTION.

For full forty years past the Republican party, following the lead of promoters intent upon pocket interest, have been doing their utmost to destroy the farming industry—the basis of all industries! Year after year, each administration outdoing the others, they have piled indirect taxes upon the farmer until agriculture has become the

most unremunerative, the most dreary, and the most hopeless pursuit in America. "Abandoned farms" has become a by-word in New England; negroes and the poorest of poor whites, living in log huts and feeding on corn-bread and bacon, do the bulk of the farming in the South; and throughout the fertile and bounteous middle and western States, the standing complaint is that intelligent, able-bodied and ambitious young men and women are flocking to the cities—because, forsooth, "farming don't pay." Why should it pay? The farmer is heavily taxed upon his hat, coat and trousers, his shirt and his shoes; not a dry grocery that goes on his table or a piece of fresh beef that he buys from the butcher, but pays tribute to the Trusts; a burdensome tax is levied upon every implement that he uses, from hoe to plowshare and from scythe to threshing machine; he is almost at the mercy of the railroads, the live-stock dealers, the tobacco factors, and grain elevator men, who "combine" to put freights up and keep prices down; and under all these tyrannous exactions at home, he is forced to labor, from daybreak to dark, in competition with the aristocracy-ridden farm labor of the entire world—for without our enormous exports of agricultural products the farmer's position would long ago have been hopeless. And never in history have the exact methods of oppressing and impoverishing the farmer been more clearly stated than in the recent decision of Judge Grosscup declaring the Beef Trust an unlawful conspiracy. Here are his words:

"The averments of the petition may be summarized as follows:—That the defendants are engaged in an unlawful combination and conspiracy under the Sherman act in

"(a) Directing and requiring their purchasing agents at the markets where the live stock was customarily purchased to refrain from bidding against each other when making such purchases;

"(b) In bidding up through their agents the prices of live stock for a few days at a time, to induce large shipments, and then ceasing from bids, to obtain the live stock thus shipped at prices much less than it would bring in the regular way;

"(c) In agreeing, at meetings between them, upon prices to be adopted by all and restriction upon the quantities of meat shipped;

'(d) In directing and requiring their agents throughout the United States to impose uniform charges for cartage for delivery, thereby increasing to dealers and consumers the charges for such meats; and

(e) In making agreements with the transportation companies for rebates and other discriminative rates.

"No one can doubt that these averments state a case of combination.

"The statute thus interpreted looks solely to competition and to the giving of competition fair play, by making illegal any effort at restriction upon competition.

"Whatever combination has the direct and necessary effect in restricting competition is, within the meaning of the Sherman act, as now interpreted, restraint of trade.

"Thus defined, there can be no doubt that the agreement of the defendants to refrain from bidding against each other in the purchase of cattle, is combination in restraint of trade; so also their agreement to bid up prices to stimulate shipments, intending to cease from bidding when the shipments have arrived. The same result follows when we turn to the combination of defendants to fix prices upon and restrict the quantities of meat shipped to their agents or their customers. Such agreements can be nothing less than restriction upon competition, and, therefore, combination in restraint of trade; and thus viewed, the petition, as an entirety, makes out a case under the Sherman act."

It is Protection that has built-up manufacturing industries at the direct and burdensome expense of our agricultural industries. It is the familiar delegations of scheming manufacturers, led by pocket-interest promoters in Washington, who have taxed and starved our sturdy yeomanry into abandoning their farms with the hope of bettering their poor condition as wage-earners in manufacturing industries. It is Protection that has confused the minds of the people, utterly corrupted our political life, put legal privileges and public franchises up at legislative auction, made the United States Senate a tight and fast "combination," driven skilled workers into trades-unions in sheer self-defense; and thus Protection has spread poverty, misery and pauperism among multitudes of the poor, the unskilled and the unfortunate, who have been led or driven to our cities. And the millions that a few rich men and rich families have amassed, is a fair measure of the unspeakable evils that have been wrought through false teaching, inspired solely by selfish pocket-interest. Stock-jobbing, panic, greenbackism, and, especially, land-grabbing throughout our vast Public Domain, have helped along the shameless work; but the worst of the monstrous evils that afflict us is Protection—and this, at last, the Trusts have made plain!

Turning now from human wretchedness in our cities and manufacturing centers, to the Census records of increasing pauperism, crime and insanity in the whole country—since the Civil War made Protection possible—we find an exact parallel to the hideous story. Just as there was no

need for Organized Charity previous to the panic of 1873, so the Census Bureau did not deem it worth while to make any record of "paupers in almshouses" previous to 1880. But they have preserved very careful statistics of crime and insanity, and now we shall see the price the desperate and the unfortunate have been forced to pay for the legislation wherewith we have manufactured millionaires wholesale.

The following table, taken from the United States Census, explains itself:

Special classes.	Number per 1,000,000 of population.			
	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Insane	765	971	1,833	1,697
Criminals in prison . .	607	853	1,169	1,315
Juvenile criminals. . .			229	237
Paupers in almshouses			1,320	1,166

Now, mark you, these are *proportionate* figures; that is to say, in each one million of population we had 765 insane and 607 criminals in 1860; but in 1890 we had 1,315 criminals actually in prison, and 1,697 insane—or more than a two-fold increase in crime and insanity within the space of less than a single generation.

Observe also that the panic of 1873 more than doubled the relative number of these classes in THE SINGLE DECADE to 1880; that under the more normal conditions of the decade following, the proportion of paupers and insane slightly decreased, but the *criminals continued to increase.* This means simply that the recklessness of the

war period lifted the figures for criminals from 607 to 853 in 1870; the panic of 1873 again lifted them to 1,169 in 1880; Credit Mobilier, the land grant frauds and municipal corruption again lifted them to 1,315 in 1890; and meanwhile, insanity, juvenile crime, and pauperism have followed closely in the wake of the desperate and daring.

The corresponding figures for the Census of 1900, revealing the ravages of the desperate panic of 1893-97, would be immensely valuable and instructive at this time. But, alas, the Census Bureau has suddenly grown weary of well-doing in the matter of these speaking records. "What is everybody's business is nobody's," runs the familiar adage. But the business of disclosing the seamy side of our Prosperity; the business of making an official record of the vast number of empty dinner pails, for comparison with full dinner pails—this business has suddenly been stopped! I have made formal application to the Census Bureau for the needed information, and this is the reply that comes back:

CENSUS OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.,
February 19, 1903.

MR. JOHN R. DUNLAP,
120 Liberty St., New York City.

Dear Sir: In reply to your request of the 11th instant for certain figures showing the proportion of Insane, Criminals in prison, Juvenile Criminals, and Paupers in almshouses per 1,000,000 of population in 1900, I regret to say that we are unable to furnish this information. The statistics of special classes, *authorized by the Census Act of 1900,* were not to be

taken up until after the 12th Census Reports were completed; consequently *we have not yet commenced to collect the data.*

Very respectfully,

W. A. KING,
Chief Statistician.

This is 1903, and they "have not yet *commenced* to collect the data." And they never will commence to do the work honestly again, until American freemen put a President in the White House who will make it his business to see that a complete census of the jails, prisons, penitentiaries, alms-houses and insane asylums is first carefully taken, and then accurately published for the information of an enlightened world that will stand aghast at the wretched record of human misery.

Daily and hourly we are advised of the stupendous liberality of the leader of the Protection hosts. Not a week passes but doth amaze the people with a blazoned record of millions dispensed for university endowments and laboratory researches by the masterful genius of "industrial combinations"—which "are a necessity." And from the mouth of every Prophet of Prosperity we hear one continuous pæan of praise for the Napoleon of Finance who brings order out of industrial chaos and contention, and links our railroads in harmonious "community of interest" with our shipping facilities and great stores of natural wealth.

But suddenly—by the Act of 1900—the work of the Census is reorganized; and straightway it is provided that the business of enumerating

criminals, paupers and insane is *not to be taken up until after the 12th Census reports are completed!*

"BOSTON, Feb. 24, 1903.—In his address at the Tremont Temple last evening, at which Governor Bates presided, General William Booth of the Salvation Army startled his hearers with the following:

"'We have in our shelters at this time more than 13,000 criminals, and if the rich do not give us enough funds to carry on our work we will turn loose the 13,000 men and give them the addresses of these rich.

"'The trouble with the ministers of the different churches,' continued General Booth, 'is that they say so little of heaven and hell. The ministers should give talks on the Salvation Army and advocate its broad policies and principles and take up collections and send us money. The work of the army does not represent any fad in religion, but a religion based on the original laws of God. The Army has a method of its own, and that is, to preach Christianity where there is no religion and to bring those to Christ who have no Church.'"

—*The New York Sun.*

Pauperism is the last ghastly confession that a freeman will make. He will work night and day; he will starve by inches; he will borrow from friends and kinsmen; he will wreck all credit with baker, butcher and grocer; he will beg for others as a pretext for feeding his own hunger; towards the end he will accept, in tearful helplessness, the tendered aid of a sympathetic charity worker; and then at last, manhood deadened and hope forever gone—he becomes a public pauper!

"I know that in this country and city (New York) there is a widening chasm between the rich and poor. I mix with the poor and know their hearts. You do not mix with them, and

fail to realize the truth. We are on the eve of a great catastrophe unless we act upon these problems. How are you, as business men, going to meet them? If you wait, we will soon be on the threshold of revolution. You must recognize and understand the wrongs of the poor. You must uplift the poor of the country, of New York, of the east side. I thank God that the money question has been settled as it has. I am thankful that it was raised at this time. It has focused the main question, the widening abyss between capital and labor, the rich and the poor, so that we may realize its importance. Shall we wait until it is too late? That is what the barons of France did, and when the wrongs of the people reached their full their authority was overthrown."

—*Rev. Dr. E. Walpole Warren.*

"Philip Frank, a letter carrier at Station T, in Tremont, was overcome by heat while covering his route last summer and died on August 8. His widow, Mary, has been made insane in struggling to support herself and three children. She was removed yesterday to Bellevue Hospital with her daugther, Agatha, aged 1 year. Her two other children, Joseph, aged 6 years, and Frederick, aged 2 years, were sent to the Gerry society's rooms.

"When her husband died, Mrs. Frank's mother wanted her to return to Kansas, where she lived before she was married. Her pride would not allow her to take her children home to be supported by her parents. Pride also led her to refuse all assistance from her neighbors in Alden place, Tremont, and when they knew she and the children must be cold and hungry, she insisted that she was very comfortably off. Her insanity takes the form of imagining she has plenty of money."

—*The New York Sun.*

But this appalling increase of insanity and crime among American freemen, tells quite another story—For this is the testimony which students of criminology and insanity experts assure us gives unmistakable evidence of the increasing stress and strain under which our people must struggle to get on in the world. The same por-

tentous significance holds true of the corresponding increase in that most pitiable and awful of crimes—suicide; and here, as elsewhere, "lack of work" is the cause which yields the greatest increase. In the city of New York alone the suicides for 1893 showed an increase of nearly 30 per cent.—attributable almost wholly to the ravages of the panic.

"The total number of suicides in two great American cities during the last thirty years have been:

Period.	*New York.*	*Chicago.*
1870 to 1880	1,369	461
1880 to 1890	2,063	1,066
1890 to 1900	3,508	3,132

"These numbers are very large (nearly one suicide daily for New York during the last decade), but they need to be put into another form in order to study the really important question which is: Are suicides increasing?

"From a list of 28,563 suicides reported from fourteen great cities of the United States during the last generation, it appears that the number of deaths from that cause per 1,000,000 persons was in—

1870	87	1885	131
1871	85	1886	136
1872	107	1887	137
1873	103	1888	142
1874	121	1889	142
1875	119	1890	138
1876	117	1891	157
1877	125	1892	153
1878	116	1893	185
1879	106	1894	180
1880	114	1895	183
1881	128	1896	189
1882	143	1897	196
1883	126	1898	205
1884	141	1899	187

"The year of the panic, 1893, is well marked in the list and since that date there is a marked increase in the number of deaths by suicide." —*The New York Sun.*

Now if some one of our trained experts in Charity Organization work will simply make it his or her business to compile a table showing (1) the total number of charitable societies, public and private, now in existence in the United States; (2) the number of persons regularly employed, and, approximately, the number occasionally employed in administering charity; and (3) the approximate number of persons outside "paupers in alms-houses" who are in need of regular and temporary assistance—that one tabular exhibit will do more to arouse the righteous wrath of American freemen, and to overthrow the infamous system of Protection, Privilege and Monopoly, which is cursing us, than any one thing else that can be done. For we need nothing more than the facts, stated with authority in cold print—WITHOUT FEAR—to open the floodgates of human sympathy for the poor and helpless, and to make a hideous spectacle of every brazen schemer who longer dares to shout Protection, Prosperity, and Panic.

A FEW PAGES OF PATRIOTIC HISTORY.

"That government is best which governs least."

"I am not among those who fear the people. They, and not the rich, are our dependence for continued freedom. And to preserve their independence, we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt. We must make our election between *economy and liberty* or *profusion and servitude.*"

—*Thomas Jefferson.*

"I am a warm advocate for limited monarchy."

"A national debt, if it is not excessive, will be a national blessing, a powerful cement of union, a necessity for keeping up taxation, and a spur to industry."

—*Alexander Hamilton.*

Chapter V.

We must get back to first principles.

And the thing more needful than all others, is that we shall now clearly understand exactly what our Revolutionary fathers had in mind when they gave legal form to American institutions.

For throughout a whole generation, from 1765 to 1800, they were continuously engaged in the absorbing study and tragic test of every problem in governmental science and constructive statesmanship. They studied Greek history, studied Roman history, studied European history, and they knew Biblical history by heart. Every philosophy, every theory, and every known form of government was up for consideration; and each was debated, written about, hotly contested, and

finally voted upon by able and determined men who staked their lives, their fortunes, and the future of their families upon the soundness of their thinking and the lasting worth of their work.

The man who thinks for himself needs only to turn back to the history of that period—especially its pamphlets, its broadsides, its resolutions, its addresses, its poetry, its satire, and notably the private correspondence of its principal actors—to find the most wonderful literature that has ever yet been penned upon the subject of governmental science. And if the ardent reformers of our time whose heads are sadly confused by theories of altruism and socialism, single tax and government ownership, free silver, fiat money, and the whole roster of sentimental paternalism—if they will simply turn to these stirring records of bold thought, courageous leadership, and constructive action, I promise they will get an uplift of hope, a renewal of inspiration and a preparation for effective public service to which they have been strangers heretofore. For here were men who fought as they thought, who builded as they planned, and who achieved the grandest work in the cause of social betterment that the world has ever known—men who were so far in advance of their own age, and of ours, that the prosperity they created and the opportunities they opened, have simply blinded us to the fundamental character of the reforms they accomplished.

The serious work began when the Stamp Act threw the Colonies into furious revolt against the tyranny of the mother country; and the stirring contest never ended until Thomas Jefferson was

elected to the Presidency in 1800. That closed the debate. The American people had decided irrevocably in favor of federated and representative government by the people, as opposed to every known form of government by a king or a legalized aristocracy—which means simply government by force of armies and navies, as in Europe to-day.

My immediate purpose, therefore, will be to contrast the two great leaders of that time, and to prove, by citations from history, first, that Alexander Hamilton sincerely believed that the British system of government was the best under the sun; secondly, that he did everything he could do to shape our government after that model; and, lastly, that he introduced the identical systems of Protection, complicated finance, and party management which gave us the secession convention at Hartford in 1815; gave us the Nullification rebellion of 1832; gave us the Civil War of 1861-65; and which have now culminated in the Trusts, combinations, and corrupt political machine for which the Republican party stands squarely responsible.

In doing the work Hamilton was undoubtedly honest and clean-handed himself. But he was British and "aristocratic" to the core; he reasoned precisely as Tory statesmen reasoned then and reason now; he had no sympathy with American aspirations, and absolutely no faith in a government by the people; and hence, because of mistaken convictions and blindness to the future, his fine courage and dashing work served only to make him chiefly responsible for the awful legacy

of evil which our fathers have suffered and which we now endure--as Jefferson, his victorious opponent, clearly foresaw and prophetically foretold!

But before we contrast the principles and policies of the two Revolutionary leaders in national affairs, let us first take a look at the preparatory and constructive work of the great leaders of Colonial New England and Colonial Virginia—let us recall the two old men who prepared the way; and who gave direction, inspiration, courage, and opportunity, to the younger men who were to shape our national destiny.

> "The world is their sepulcher, and wherever there is speech of noble deeds, there they will be remembered."

It was Samuel Adams who organized and led the little band of brave men from the Old South Church to the docks; and it was none other than Samuel Adams himself—a patriot's will in his heart and a strong man's resolution in his mind—who tossed the first chest of historic tea into Boston Harbor. The fashionable ladies and gentlemen who now lead Boston society, like the thrifty literary folk of all New England, still boast very proudly of that famous Tea Party. But Dr. John Fiske found it necessary to write an essay to explain the significance of the event to them; for in the whole libraries they have written—about the Mayflower, the Puritans, the battle of Bunker Hill, the Liberators, and all the rest—we find only rare, and rather hesitating, references to the supremely important work that Samuel Adams did

—No sort of adequate recognition of the obvious fact that he was the undisputed leader, the personal embodiment, the brains, and the very soul of New England's revolt against monarchy, aristocracy, and tyranny.

But it is not hard to see *why* his just fame and splendid work have been thus neglected by the intensely "literary" aristocracy of wealth which holds its court in the Back Bay. For in addition to being a truly great man, Samuel Adams was also a "townsman." He led in Town Meeting; he mixed with the people; he wrote for the newspapers; he organized the Committees of Correspondence throughout New England; he led in the Assembly; he was elected to the first Continental Congress; and beyond all this, he had a supreme contempt for the fops and fools of "society;" an inveterate hatred of Tories and aristocrats; and a burning love of liberty which inspired all his long, laborious, and resplendent services in laying the very foundation stones of democratic institutions.

And as evidence of the exalted esteem in which he was held by Jefferson, witness this from the personal letter addressed to him just after that immortal document, Jefferson's first inaugural address, had been given to the world:

"In meditating the matter of that address I often asked myself, is this exactly in the spirit of the patriarch of liberty, Samuel Adams? Is it as he would express it? Will he approve of it?

"I have felt a great deal for our country in the times we have seen. But individually for no one as for yourself. When I have been told that you were avoided, insulted, frowned on, I could but ejaculate, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they

do.' I confess I felt an indignation for you which for myself I have been able under every trial to keep entirely passive. However, the storm is over, and we are in port.''

Then after the great patriot had passed on to his final rest, Jefferson again wrote this:

''I can say he was a truly great man, wise in council, fertile in resources, immovable in his purposes, and had, I think, a greater share than any other member in advising and directing our measures in the northern war especially. As a speaker he could not be compared with his living colleague and namesake (John Adams—a second cousin) whose deep conceptions, nervous style, and undaunted firmness made him truly our bulwark in debate. But Mr. Samuel Adams, although not of fluent elocution, was so rigorously logical, so clear in his views, abundant in good sense, and master always of his subject, that he commanded the most profound attention whenever he arose in an assembly by which the froth of declamation was heard with the most sovreign contempt.''

Down in Virginia was another master-builder, in the person of George Mason—a man whose name is now scarcely remembered outside his own state, but whose high powers and great personal influence were of inestimable service to the cause of American institutions. He was a Cavalier by descent; he boasted a proud family history; he owned and managed vast plantations; and he was the acknowledged peer of every gentleman in the Colony. But he had a patriot's soul; he personified the genius of democracy at its best; and with pen and voice he proved himself a very host in overcoming the resistance of his Royalist and aristocratic neighbors.

It was George Mason who penned that immortal document the Virginia Bill of Rights, adopted June 12, 1776; and who also wrote the Virginia

Constitution—the two forming the first formal charter of a "government by the people" on American soil; which were "afterwards closely imitated by the other United States." So, too, it was George Mason, in a fury of democratic conviction at the close of the Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, who declared that he would chop off his right hand rather than sign the Constitution of the United States as originally adopted—because in his soul he believed it would give us "a government without limitation of powers," and thus lead straight on to an aristocracy and monarchy.

"Do gentlemen mean (he said) to pave the way to hereditary monarchy? Do they flatter themselves that the people will ever consent to such an innovation?, If they do, I venture to tell them they are mistaken. THE PEOPLE NEVER WILL CONSENT! Notwithstanding the oppression and injustice experienced among us from democracy, the genius of the people is in favor of it; and the genius of the people MUST be consulted!"

"We ought to attend to the rights of every class of the people. He had often wondered at the indifference of the superior classes of society to this dictate of humanity and policy; considering, that, however affluent their circumstances or elevated their situations, might be, the course of a few years not only might, but certainly would, distribute their posterity throughout the lowest classes of society. Every selfish motive, therefore, every family attachment, ought to recommend such a system of policy as would provide no less carefully for the rights and happiness of the lowest, than of the highest. order of citizens."

Furthermore, it was George Mason's Spartan fight in the Virginia Convention, his "inflexible integrity and unbending republicanism," which then and there pledged us the indispensable and priceless amendments incorporated in the Consti-

tution in 1791 in lieu of a Bill of Rights. As a measure of the imperative need for these ten amendments, let me quote two of them:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or of abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

"No person shall be * * * * deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation."

Long years after Mason was dead, lingering envy tried to rob him of his work; but when they questioned Jefferson upon the subject, this was the reply:

"The fact is unquestionable that the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of Virginia were drawn originally by George Mason, one of our really great men, and of the first order of greatness."

In short, it was George Mason of Virginia, and Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, who were the fathers, the constructive founders of American democracy—because it was the daring leadership, the wise counsel, the documentary writing, the grim fighting, and the irresistible power and influence of these two old men in their home assemblies, that made possible all the more brilliant and telling work of the younger men on the larger stage of national affairs.

Miss Kate Mason Rowland, in an admirable biography, has restored to Mason all his own; and so I am sure Dr. John Fiske's telling Essay on "The Deeper Significance of the Boston Tea Party" will lead straight on to a restoration of Sam-

uel Adams' birth-right to historic immortality. And hereafter when Americans wish to know the "deeper significance" of American democracy, let them begin by studying the work of these two men. For beyond all cavil or question, these were the sturdy pilots whose clear heads, strong hands, and dauntless courage steered Massachusetts and Virginia safely into the harbor of "a government of the people by the people and for the people."

In the field of national history the great names are soon recalled. Benjamin Franklin was not only philosopher, inventor, diplomat, and patriarch of democratic teaching, but he was ever-ready and ever-present with wit and humor and worldly wisdom to aid manfully in the great cause. To Patrick Henry belongs a deathless fame, for the lion-hearted courage and the overpowering eloquence which fired the American heart to action. Thomas Jefferson penned the Declaration of Independence; and then, as we shall soon see, proved himself the creative and constructive genius who, cutting adrift from the past, gave body and soul to every novel and enduring feature of American institutions. John Adams was "the Colossus of debate" in carrying the Declaration of Independence against strong opposition in the conservative Continental Congress. George Washington fought the battles that won us Independence; presided over the Constitutional Convention; was first President, and first in the abiding trust of his countrymen; and he is rightly known for all time as the Father of his country—for without his genius in judgment

and command, the work could not have been completed. At the very crisis of the Revolution, in the darkest days of Valley Forge, it was Thomas Paine who re-kindled patriotism, and re-inspired conviction, with the irresistible logic of his flashing and truly wonderful pen. James Madison was unequivocally the Father of the Constitution; for it was he who started the movement in the Continental Congress; it was he who called the first convention at Annapolis; it was he who called the second convention at Philadelphia; it was he who induced Washington to preside; and then with masterful skill and tact, he shaped the brilliant work of both Hamilton and Jay in writing the Federalist. And finally, it was John Marshall who, as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, laid the foundations and reared the superstructure of the most august tribunal of justice known to mankind.

Many other famous names, each with a record of great work grandly done, might be added to the list; but unquestionably these were the supreme leaders.

And now for early STOCK-JOBBING!

I come to the point abruptly, and I use strong language—because Oliver Cromwell, Thomas Carlyle, and Andrew Jackson have taught us that it should be used—because I do not propose that my readers shall waste time over befuddling and insufferable ceremony. The STOCK-JOBBERS were the men who gave Hamilton a temporary show of political power—precisely as the STOCK-JOBBERS are today the men in actual control of the Republican machine.

Writing to George Mason from Philadelphia under date of February 4, 1791—while Hamilton's schemes were hatching under his very eyes—Thomas Jefferson said this:

"What is said in our country (Virginia) of the fiscal arrangements now going on? I really fear their effect when I consider the present temper of the Southern States. Whether these measures be right or wrong abstractedly, more attention should be paid to the general (public) opinion. However, all will pass—the Excise will pass—the Bank will pass."

"The only corrective of what is corrupt in our present form of government, will be the augmentation of the numbers in the lower House; so as to get a more agricultural representation, which may put that interest ABOVE THAT OF THE STOCK-JOBBERS."

Then, under date of Sept. 9, 1792, when events had shown Jefferson plainly that principle demanded his withdrawal from the Cabinet, he wrote Washington this:

"That I have utterly, in my private conversations, disapproved of the system of the Secretary of the Treasury, I acknowledge and avow; and this was not merely a speculative difference. His system flowed from *principles adverse to liberty*, and was calculated to *undermine and demolish the Republic*, by creating an influence of his department over the members of the Legislature. I saw this influence actually produced, and its first fruits to be the establishment of the great outlines of his project by the votes of the very persons who, having swallowed his bait, were *laying themselves out to profit by his plans;* and that had these persons withdrawn, as those interested in a question ever should, the vote of the disinterested majority was *clearly the reverse of what they made it*. These were no longer the votes, then, of the representatives of the people, but of deserters from the rights and interests of the people; and it was impossible to consider their decisions, *which had nothing in view but to enrich themselves*, as the measures of the fair majority, which ought always to be respected. If what was actually doing begot uneasiness in those who wished for virtuous government, what was further proposed was

not less threatening to the friends of the Constitution. For, in a report on *the subject of manufactures* (still to be acted on), it was expressly assumed that the General Government has a right to exercise all powers which may be for *the general welfare,* that is to say, *all the legitimate powers of government;* since no government has a legitimate right to do what is not for the welfare of the governed."

Some time later, making formal record of Hamilton's transactions for the eyes of history—making a record which we and all future generations of fighting freemen might plainly see and clearly understand—Jefferson wrote what follows. The quotations are lengthy for "busy" men; but they are vivid in vital teaching; and they are worth all the literature ever yet penned for showing freemen how to fight the fallacies and "combinations" of able men intent only upon fleeting personal glory or self-enrichment.

And it is in these brief records, penned for the future, that Jefferson turns a search-light upon the germs of corruption which have poisoned our political life. It is here that we have a calm, penetrating, and complete explanation of the methods, motives, and vital principles which divided parties at the birth of the nation. It is here that we see why and how Jefferson, the new-born American statesman, challenged, met and easily mastered Hamilton, the English statesman. And it is to the work he then did, and the victory he then won, that we owe the firm and lasting establishment of American institutions.

"I returned from the mission to France the first year of the new government, having landed in Virginia in December, 1789, and proceeded to New York in March, 1790, to enter on the office

of Secretary of State. Here, certainly, I found a state of things which, of all I had ever contemplated, I the least expected. I had left France in the first year of her revolution, in the fervor of natural rights and zeal for reformation. My conscientious devotion to these rights could not be heightened, but it had been aroused and excited by daily exercise. The President received me cordially, and my colleagues, and the circle of principal citizens, apparently with welcome. The courtesies of dinner parties given me, as a stranger newly arrived among them, placed me at once in their familiar society. But I cannot describe the wonder and mortification with which the table conversations filled me. Politics were the chief topic, and a preference of a kingly over a republican government, was evidently the favorite sentiment. An apostate I could not be, nor yet a hypocrite; and I found myself, for the most part, the only advocate on the republican side of the question, unless some guests there chanced to be some members of that party from the legislative houses."

"Hamilton's financial system had two objects: 1st, as a puzzle, to exclude popular understanding and inquiry; 2nd, as a machine for the corruption of the Legislature: for he avowed the opinion that man could be governed by one of two motives only, force or interest. Force, he observed, in this country, was out of the question; and the interests, therefore, of the members must be laid hold of, to keep the Legislature in unison with the Executive. And with grief and shame it must be acknowledged that his machine was not without effect; that even in this, the birth of our government, some members were found sordid enough to bend their duty to their interests, and to look after personal rather than public good."

"It is well known that during the war, the greatest difficulty we encountered, was the want of money or means to pay our soldiers who fought, or our farmers, manufacturers, and merchants, who furnished the necessary supplies of food and clothing for them. After the expedient of paper money had exhausted itself, certificates of debt were given to the individual creditors, with assurance of payment, so soon as the United States should be able. But the distresses of these people often obliged them to part with these for the half, the fifth, and even a tenth of their value; and speculators had made a trade of cozening them from the holders, by the most fraudulent practices, and persua-

sions that they would never be paid. In the bill for funding and paying these, Hamilton made no difference between the original holders and the fraudulent purchasers of this paper. Great and just repugnance arose at putting these two classes of creditors on the same footing, and great exertions were used to pay the former the full value, and to the latter the price only which they had paid, with interest. But this would have prevented the game which was to be played, and for which the minds of greedy members were already tutored and prepared. When the trial of strength, on these several efforts, had indicated the form in which the bill would finally pass, *this being known within doors sooner than without*, and especially, than to those who were in distant parts of the Union, the base scramble began. Couriers and relay horses by land, and swift-sailing pilot boats by sea, were flying in all directions. Active partners and agents were associated and employed in every State, town, and country neighborhood, and this paper was bought up at five shillings, and even as low as two shillings in the pound, *before the holder knew* that Congress had already provided for its redemption at par. Immense sums were thus filched from the poor and ignorant, and fortunes accumulated by those who had themselves been poor enough before. Men thus enriched by the dexterity of a leader, would follow of course, *the chief who was leading them to fortune*, and become the zealous instruments of all his enterprises."

"Still the machine was not complete. The effect of the Funding system, and of the Assumption, would be temporary; it would be lost with the loss of the individual members *whom it has enriched;* and some engine of influence more permanent must be contrived, while these myrmidons were yet in place to carry it through all opposition. This engine was the *Bank of the United States.* All that history is known, so I shall say nothing about it. While the government remained at Philadelphia, a selection of members of both Houses were constantly kept as directors, who, on every question interesting to that institution, or to the views of the Federal head, voted at the will of that head; and, together with the stockholding members, could always make the Federal vote that of the majority. By this COMBINATION, legislative expositions were shaped on the model of England, and so passed. And from this influence we were not relieved, until the removal from the precincts of the Bank, (at Philadelphia) to Washington."

"Here, then, was the real ground of the opposition which was made to the course of administration. Its object was to preserve the legislature pure and independent of the executive, to restrain the administration to republican forms and principles, and not permit the Constitution to be construed into a monarchy, and to be warped, in practice, into all the principles and pollutions of *their favorite English model.* Nor was this in opposition to General Washington. He was true to the republican charge confided to him; and has solemnly and repeatedly protested to me, in our conversations, that he would lose the last drop of his blood in support of it; and he did this the oftener and with the more earnestness, because he knew my suspicions of Hamilton's designs against it, and wished to quiet them. For he was not aware of the drift, or of the effect of Hamilton's schemes. Unversed in financial projects and calculations and budgets, his approbation of them was bottomed on his confidence in the man."

"But Hamilton was not only a monarchist, but for a monarchy bottomed on corruption. In proof of this, I will relate an anecdote, for the truth of which I attest the God who made me. Some occasion for consultation arising, I invited those gentlemen (members of the Cabinet and Vice President Adams) to dine with me. After the cloth was removed, and our question agreed and dismissed, conversation began on other matters, and, by some circumstance, was led to the British Constitution, on which Mr. Adams observed: 'Purge that Constitution of its corruption, and give to its popular branch equality of representation, and it would be the most perfect Constitution ever devised by the wit of man.' Hamilton paused and said: 'Purge it of its corruption, and give to its popular branch equality of representation, and it would become an impracticable government; as it stands at present, with all its supposed defects, it is the most perfect government which ever existed.' And this was assuredly the exact line which separated the political creeds of these two gentlemen. The one was for two hereditary branches and an honest elective one: the other, for an hereditary King, with a House of Lords and Commons corrupted to his will, and standing between him and the people."

"Hamilton was, indeed, a singular character. Of acute understanding, disinterested, honest, and honorable in all private transactions, amiable in society, and duly valuing virtue in private life,

yet so bewitched and perverted by the British example, as to be under thorough conviction that corruption was essential to the government of a nation."

It will be observed that Jefferson *said* things—as throughout his whole life we shall now see he *did* things!

As a natural consequence, we have only to turn back to the political history of that critical period to find him pictured by the Federal leaders as a demagogue, an enthusiast, an atheist, a secessionist, and a French Jacobin—just returned from the scenes of the Reign of Terror in France, and now deliberately sowing the seeds of mad riot and disorder which, if they took hold, would plunge the American people into a similar orgy of bloodshed and ruin.

Josiah Quincy, "the strongest representative in Congress from Massachusetts," declared that "Jefferson was a transparent fraud, his followers were dupes or ruffians, and the nation was hastening to a fatal crisis." Quincy refused to accept the usual invitation to dine at the White House, explaining: "I regarded him (Jefferson) as a snake in the grass; the more dangerous for the oily, wily language with which he lubricated his victims and applied his venom."

In the studied and carefully written papers by Hamilton for the Philadelphia *Gazette,* over the signature "Catullus," Jefferson was thus described:

"Mr. Jefferson has hitherto been distinguished as the quiet, modest, retiring philosopher; as the plain, simple, unambitious Republican. He shall not now, for the first time, be regarded as the intriguing incendiary, the aspiring turbulent competitor.

"How long it is since that gentleman's real character may have been divined, or whether this is only the first time that the secret has been disclosed, I am not sufficiently acquainted with the history of his political life to determine; but there is always a 'first time' when characters studious of artful disguises are unveiled; when the visor of stoicism is plucked from the brow of the epicurean; when the plain garb of quaker simplicity is stripped from the concealed voluptuary; when Cæsar, coyly refusing the proffered diadem, is seen to be Cæsar rejecting the trappings, but tenaciously grasping the substance of imperial domination."

To this late day, if we consult the libraries of current literature which shape political convictions in all the strongholds of Protection—notably throughout New England and Pennsylvania—we find Jefferson everywhere portrayed as a theorist, who was ineffective and unsafe in practical statesmanship; but who had a gift of genius for phrasing "glittering generalities" about equality and rights of man, which appealed irresistibly to the populace, and thus made him the most successful politician of his time.

I can not, indeed, more clearly indicate what the rich and "the well-born" were thinking and saying a century ago, than by quoting a sample of what millionaire Prosperity Prophets are thinking and saying in our time. The following amazing estimate of Jefferson's opponent, is from none other than Senator Chauncey M. Depew—Demosthenes to the millionaires:

"In no age or country has there appeared a more precocious or amazing intelligence than Hamilton's. At thirteen he was the responsible head of a great commercial establishment * * * at eighteen, he was hailed by the whole country as the peer of the Adamses and Jay.

"He smote the sources of revenue with such skill and power,

that from the barren rocks flowed the streams which filled the Treasury and the Sinking Fund, and the exhausted land was fertilized by its own productiveness. Out of chaos he developed perfected schemes which have stood every strain and met every emergency in our national life. From his tent at Morristown he suggested to the bewildered Morris, who was seeking funds to sustain the Revolution, a plan of a National Banking system which he completed as Secretary of the Treasury, and which, after many vicissitudes and with some modifications, has met the exigencies created by civil war, and is the basis upon which rests our whole structure of public and private business. *(Shade of Salmon P. Chase!)* He saw the necessity for manufactures, and the possibility of their creation and growth by judicious Protection, and laid down the principles which succeeding statesmen and publicists have accepted, *but never enlarged. (Shades of McKinley and Dingley!)* When the orgies of the French Revolution maddened Europe and intoxicated America, and in the name of universal Republicanism France demanded an offensive and defensive alliance, he stemmed the popular current, prophesied that license would end in despotism, and established the great rule of neutrality which has been the guiding and protecting spirit of our foreign policy. *(Shade of Washington!)*

So great was the concentration of this industry and the comprehensiveness of his mind, that *in three months he mastered the law,* and entered at once upon a lucrative practice. Amidst the universal prosperity created by his wisdom and measures, private needs compelled his resignation, and he entered upon the brief, but *most brilliant professional career* in the illustrious history of the bar of our State. Enraptured juries were swayed by his eloquence, and admiring judges convinced by his arguments. He so settled the law of libel and the liberty of the press, that his brief became part of the constitutions of States and the statutes of England. *(Shade of Edward Hamilton!)*

"Talleyrand, walking up Garden Street in this city late at night, and seeing him at work in his office, said: 'I have seen one of the wonders of the world. I have seen a man laboring all night to support his family, who has made the fortune of a nation.' This great critic and cynic said: 'I consider Napoleon, Fox, and Hamilton the three greatest men of our epoch, and without hesitation I award the first place to Hamilton.' "

"If Shakespeare is the commanding originating genius of England, and Gœthe of Germany, Hamilton must occupy that place among Americans."

It was literature, logic, and oratory precisely like this, which between 1796 and 1800 led the Federal party into the most extreme and dangerous measures of governmental policy—all-but involving us in a war with France in the hidden hope that an alliance with Great Britain might be formed. It was reasoning like Depew's which for a time upset and ran away with the irritable and unsafe judgment of President John Adams; which secured the enactment of the infamous Alien and Sedition laws; and which finally culminated in the secession Convention, at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1815.

But Jefferson never once lost his head—never faltered in his firm faith in the American people. And he never ceased in the grand work to which he was called until he had laid, broad and deep, the foundations of a national existence which could withstand every tempest and storm—until he had perfected institutions which we now begin to see are surely destined to work an evolution and readjustment in the governmental systems of every people under the sun.

Even Hamilton himself lived to recognize and acknowledge the sure evidences of his great mistake. For after the Federal party had been driven from power; and after he found himself estranged from nearly all its leaders, because of his pro-British sympathies; he frankly wrote his old

friend Gouverneur Morris, under date of February 2, 1802, in this exact language:*

"Mine is an odd destiny. Perhaps no man in the United States has sacrificed or done more for the present Constitution than myself; and *contrary to all my anticipations of its fate*, as you know from the very beginning. I am still laboring to prop *the frail and worthless fabric*. Yet I have the murmurs of its friends, no less than the curses of its foes, for my reward. What can I do better than withdraw from the scene? Every day proves to me more and more, that this American world was not made for me.

"You, friend Morris, are by birth a native of this country, but by genius an exotic. You mistake, if you fancy that you are more of a favorite than myself, or that you are in any sort upon a theatre suited to you."

Four months after Morris had delivered the funeral oration over Hamilton's corpse, under date of December 28, 1804, Morris wrote this:

"Our poor friend Hamilton bestrode his hobby to the great annoyance of his friends, and not without injury to himself. More a theoretic than a practical man, he was not sufficiently convinced that a system may be good in itself, and bad in relation to particular circumstances. He well knew that his favorite form was inadmissible, *unless as the result of civil war;* and I suspect that his belief in that which he called *an approaching crisis* arose from a conviction that the kind of government most suitable, in his opinion, to this extensive country, *could be established in no other way.* When our population *shall have reached a certain extent*, his system may be proper, and the people *may then* be disposed to adopt it; but under present circumstances they will not, neither will it answer any valuable purpose."

And the meaning of all this is simply, what historians have often remarked, and what all think-

*Hamilton's Works, by John C. Hamilton, Vol. VI, page 530.

ing men can now plainly see—"that Hamilton lived in the European past, while Jefferson lived in the American future!"

As a matter of fact, Hamilton was born in the West Indies, and he did not come to New York until his character had been formed and his loyal British principles firmly fixed. Knowing nothing of our great West and South, except through hearsay, Hamilton could not comprehend the spirit and genius of the great race of fighting freemen who had already conquered and settled the territory East of the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies—and who were even then laying the foundations of Empire in the West. Hamilton was, therefore, an Englishman first, and an Eastern man next. In his philosophy the Marquises, the Lords, the Sir Knights, and statesmen drawn from the ranks of "the well-born," were the only men competent or fit to rule—there was no proper place in a scheme of official organization for Indian fighters and backwoodsmen, of whom Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln were perfect types.

More than this, Hamilton knew the history of the little democracies which overwhelmed Greek civilization through disunion and civil strife; he was a living witness to the inefficiency of our first attempt at national government under the Articles of Confederation and the Continental Congress; he described it as "the present futile and senseless confederation;" and finally, he saw the French nation convulsed by the mad excesses of democracy which culminated in the Reign of Terror, and made the French people victims of the

selfish ambition of Napoleon. Thus it was that experience here, and experience in France, served only to confirm and fix the convictions which he was born to and brought with him—and which he frankly expressed in the following words, from one of his earliest pamphlets, "The Farmer Refuted," published in 1775:

"I earnestly lament the unnatural quarrel between the parent state and the colonies, and most ardently wish for a speedy reconciliation—a perpetual and mutually beneficial union. I am a warm advocate for limited monarchy, and an unfeigned well-wisher to the present royal family. * * * * That harmony and mutual confidence may be speedily restored to all parts of the British empire, is the favorite wish of one who feels the warmest sentiments of good will to all mankind, * * * and who is—A sincere Friend to America."

Hamilton never for one moment departed from these inmost convictions, as overwhelming evidence gives proof. And every word that he uttered, every line that he wrote, and every act of his public career among us, was inspired by the hope and belief that the Constitution might serve as a stepping stone to that ideal and inevitable form of government—which he saw only in Britain. For in the last letter that he penned before his death, he designated "our real disease, which is democracy."

Beyond all this, the last limit of Hamilton's imagination was bounded by the wonderful work that Julius Cæsar achieved. He believed, and avowed, that Cæsar was the greatest man who had ever lived. In that judgment he was absolutely right—so far as kingly rule can serve or curse mankind. He watched Napoleon at work; and

plainly saw in Napoleon a modern Italian of the olden type, transplanted to France, and then recklessly driving toward the goal of a world empire —for which Cæsar's work was the one plan and model. These honest convictions burned in Hamilton's brain and inspired all his work. For a brief time he was powerful in leadership, because the Federal party seemed to be following him; because he appealed irresistibly to the pocket interest of the Tories, the aristocrats, and "the well-born;" because he dexterously played upon the conservatism and timidity of men of wealth; and because he banked upon the energy, the ability, and the unscrupulous aid of men sordidly intent upon enriching themselves through legislative favors.

His grand mistake consisted in the fact that he had no faith in the people; no faith in a government by the people. Thus, in proposing his last plan of action for the Federal party—the silly and visionary scheme for "The Christian Constitutional Society," to combat the Democratic Societies of that day—he wrote this:*

"Nothing is more fallacious than to expect to produce any valuable or permanent results in political projects by relying merely on the reason of men. Men are rather reasoning than reasonable animals, for the most part governed by the impulse of passion. This is a truth well understood by our adversaries. * * * Unluckily, however, for us, in the competition for the passions of the people, our opponents have great advantage over us; for the plain reason that the vicious are far more active than the good passions."

*To those who are still deluded with the idea of Hamilton's "greatness" I commend a reading of this school-boy plan of party organization. See page 10, Vol. III, Randall's Life of Jefferson.

Hamilton failed, as other men like him have always failed, because he was blind to the promptings of man's higher nature—because he was blind to the obvious fact that "men are disposed to live honestly if the means of doing so are open to them." His fiscal system, centering in a bank of the United States (a mere duplicate of the Bank of England) had to be abandoned because it was unsuited and dangerous to a self-governing people. And now, at last, the people plainly see that his system of Protection (a legacy and curse of British rule,) must be abandoned—because it is the most corrupting and most dangerous fallacy at work in our public life. In naked truth, Hamilton was visionary, impetuous, and impossible as a leader of men. He owed everything to Washington's friendship, Washington's great name, and Washington's supreme influence over the American people. And it is to Washington's genius for command, and especially Washington's restraint of Hamilton, and moderation of all his measures, that we owe every useful thing accomplished in putting our early finances in order. Conclusive proof of all this lies in the fact that Hamilton lost influence in national affairs, and forfeited the following of practically every leader of the Federal party, very soon after he retired from Washington's Cabinet. Burr's murderous bullet simply made a martyred hero for the moneyed aristocracy; and the inspiration of pocket interest has enabled millionaire oratory to perpetuate the myth of Hamilton's greatness.

On the other hand, Thomas Jefferson was a native American—born in the then far West and

South. Through generations of native-born forefathers, American ideals, American patriotism and American courage were bred into the very marrow of his bones. He lived and moved and had his being as a part of us. He saw, with the clear eye of the prophet, that the fighting freemen of every Colony on our coast were ready to lay down their lives—had indeed freely given their lives and their fortunes—rather than submit to the tyranny of a class who accounted themselves "the well-born." He read all that Hamilton had read; and traveling much further, read vastly more. As our Minister to France, he lived for years among the French people; and, on the very spot, he studied the forces which culminated in the Reign of Terror. In the light of that long residence, he viewed with wide-open eyes all that Bonaparte thought, and planned, and did. In Napoleon's work he could see "nothing which bespeaks a luminous view of the organization of rational government." But he watched and waited to see "if his head is equal to *true and solid calculations of glory.*" When the reality came—then Jefferson penned the death-dealing judgment of history by declaring:

"No man on earth has stronger detestation of the unprincipled tyrant Bonaparte than myself."

"What suffering can atone for his crimes against the liberties and happiness of the human race; for the miseries he has already inflicted on his own generation, and on those yet to come, on whom he has riveted the chains of despotism."

Knowing France as he knew America, Jefferson also lived in England long enough to see clearly that the ruling aristocracy, with studied

intent of purpose to defeat at home the spread of republican ideas, had instilled enmity and hatred into the hearts of a people who are kindred to us, and who should be friends. Then he came home to see Hamilton leading the Federal party headlong toward the horrors of civil strife and foreign wars—with the sole aim of establishing aristocratic rule. Straightway, with a genius for command which has never been approached in all the history of conservative and constructive leadership, Jefferson set himself squarely to the task of penning the literature, inspiring the leaders, and marshalling the forces for the grandest work in party organization and constructive statesmanship in all the written records of historic time!

Through all his teaching, as through all his statutes and his statesmanship, there rang the high, clear note of a direct appeal to man's honor, to man's patriotism, and to man's courage. Witness here:

"Honesty is the first chapter of the book of wisdom."

"I have never believed there was one code of morality for a public and another for a private man."

"To inform the minds of the people and to follow their will is the chief duty of those placed at their head."

"The information of the people at large can alone make them the safe, as they are the sole depository of our religious and political freedom."

"There is a debt of service due from every man to his country, proportioned to the bounties which nature and fortune have measured to him."

"It is impossible not to be sensible that we are acting for all mankind; that circumstances denied to others, but indulged to

us, have imposed on us the duty of proving what is the degree of freedom and self-government in which a society may venture to have its individual members."

"The station which we occupy among the nations of the earth is honorable, but awful. Trusted with the destinies of this solitary republic of the world, the only monument of human rights and the sole depository of the sacred fire of freedom and self-government, from hence it is to be lighted up in other regions of the earth, if other regions of the earth ever become susceptible of its benign influence. All mankind ought then, with us, to rejoice in its prosperous, and sympathize in its adverse fortunes, as involving everything that is dear to man. And to what sacrifices of interest or commerce ought not these considerations to animate us? To what compromises of opinion and inclination, to maintain harmony and union among ourselves, and to preserve from all danger this hallowed ark of human hope and human happiness. That differences of opinion should arise among men, on politics, on religion, and on every other topic of human inquiry, and that these should be freely expressed in a country where all our faculties are free, is to be expected."

And when he went to the Presidency, this is a small part of the message which he gave to his own people in that immortal document, that priceless legacy to all mankind, his first Inaugural Address:

"I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a Republican Government cannot be strong; that this Government is not strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear that this Government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest Government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the laws, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order, as his own personal concern.

"Let us, then, with courage and confidence, pursue our own

Federal and Republican principles, our attachment to our Union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the hundredth and thousandth generation; entertaining a due sense of our equal rights to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow-citizens, resulting, not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them; enlightened by a benign religion, professed, indeed, and practised in various forms, yet all of them including honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man; acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence, which by all its dispensations proves that it delights in the happiness of man here and his greater happiness hereafter; with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens—a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities."

And now, Christians all, take careful note!

From a searching study and a clear analysis of the Scriptures, he saw plainly that Christ's teaching was the very life of the moral world—the broad basis of all enduring systems in true governmental science. Yet pulpits rang with denunciations of him, and political partisans sought to defile his great name with charges of atheism, infidelity, and all the sins of the decalogue. To these slanderous attacks he never deigned one word of reply. But to intimate and trusted friends he made himself perfectly clear, in letters now vivid with living truth; and of each letter he carefully preserved a full and fair copy for the

eyes of history. Witness these speaking extracts:

"As to the calumny of Atheism, I am so broken to calumnies of every kind, from every department of government, Executive, Legislative, and Judiciary, and from every minion of theirs holding office or seeking it, that I entirely disregard it. * * * * It has been so impossible to contradict all their lies, that I am determined to contradict none; for while I should be engaged with one, they would publish twenty new ones."

"Had the doctrines of Jesus been preached always as pure as they came from his lips, the whole civilized world would now have been Christian."

"To the corruptions of Christianity I am indeed opposed; but not to the genuine precepts of Jesus himself; I am a Christian in the only sense he wished any one to be; sincerely attached to His doctrines in preference to all others; ascribing to Himself every human excellence; and believing he never claimed any other."

"The greatest of all reformers of the depraved religion of his own country was Jesus of Nazareth. Abstracting what is really his from the rubbish in which it is buried, easily distinguished by its lustre from the dross of his biographers, and as separable from that as the diamond from the dunghill, we have the outlines of a system of the most sublime morality which has fallen from the lips of man; outlines which it is lamentable he did not fill up. Epictetus and Epicurus give laws for governing ourselves, Jesus a supplement of the duties and charities we owe to others."

Throughout his whole life he lived, and taught, and acted, upon the principle that:

"Opinion and the just maintenance of it shall never be a crime in my view, nor bring injury on the individual."

"I have ever found in my progress through life, that acting for the public if we always do what is right, the approbation denied in the beginning will surely follow in the end."

In sober truth, what all teachers, preachers, and earnest followers of the light which is redeeming the world now most need, is a pilgrimage to Mon-

ticello, there to find writ over his tomb the ever-living fact that he gave us religious liberty as the very cornerstone of political liberty—that Thomas Jefferson was the man who made it possible for eighty millions of freemen to dare the world in defense of the Master's injunction:

> "Know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free."

Small wonder that the foremost historian of the American people, Dr. John Fiske, should grace his noble work of harmonizing true religion with science, by paying this tribute to the foremost statesman of all time:

"The Episcopal Church was then established by law in Virginia, and dissenters were taxed to support it. Besides, there were many heavy penalties attached to nonconformity; a man convicted of heresy might be deprived of the custody of his children. Jefferson's own views of the relations between government and religion are expressed in the following remarkable passage from his "Notes on Virginia." "Opinion," he says, "is something with which the government has no business to meddle; it is quite beyond its legitimate province. * * * * Millions of innocent men, women, and children, since the introduction of Christianity, have been burnt, tortured, fined, imprisoned; yet we have not advanced one inch toward uniformity. Let us reflect that the earth is inhabited by thousands of millions of people; that these profess probably a thousand different systems of religion; that ours is but one of that thousand; that if there be but one right, and ours that one, we should wish to see the nine hundred and ninety-nine wandering sects gathered into the fold of truth. But against such a majority we cannot effect this by force. Reason and persuasion are the only practicable instruments. To make way for these, free inquiry must be indulged; and how can we wish others to indulge it, while we refuse it ourselves?" These few pithy sentences have had no little influence upon American history. For half a century they furnished the arguments for the liberal-minded men who by dint of persistent

effort, succeeded in finally divorcing Church from State in all parts of our Union. For holding such views Jefferson was regarded by many people as an infidel; in our time he would be more likely to be classed as a liberal Christian. The general sentiment of the churches has made remarkable progress toward his position, though it would be too much to say that it has yet fully reached it. In most matters, Jefferson's face was set toward the future; in this he was clearly in advance of his age, and it was a notable instance of his power over men that after only nine years of strenuous debate his views should have become incorporated in the legislation of Virginia."

"Jefferson died on the 4th of Juy, 1826, at Monticello, just half a century after the promulgation of that Declaration of Independence which he had written, and John Adams had most powerfully defended in the Continental Congress. In the bitter political strife between 1795 and 1800 Jefferson and Adams had become enemies; but in later years the enmity had subsided as old party strife had subsided. Jefferson had carried the day! He had lived long enough to see the fruition of his work, to see the American people in full sympathy with him, and to win back the esteem of the great statesman, John Adams, from whom he had been so long divided.

"Could there have been a nobler triumph for this strong and sweet nature?

"On the 4th of July, 1826, at one o'clock midday, he quietly passed away, serene in death as in all his life. Three hours before, on that same day, at his home in Massachusetts, John Adams died; and just before the last breath left him the memories of the grand old times when Massachusetts and Virginia stood together and built up this Union flitted across his mind, and he murmured, 'Thomas Jefferson still lives.'

Verily, Jefferson *still lives*—and he will live so long as liberty survives, so long as written history is preserved!

Thus we see in cold print the inner records of the Revolutionary story. And fortunately for the cause of human liberty, fortunately for the happy future which awaits all races of men under free

institutions, we now have, fresh from the press, the dying testimony of an interpreter of American history who was so profoundly wise—a man whose knowledge is so all-embracing, whose writing is so convincing and whose conclusions are so far-reaching and significant—that I confidently believe his books have laid, broad and deep, the historic foundations for a peaceful revolution in political systems without a parallel in recorded time. For we live in a scientific age—in an age of fast-crowding change in thought, in systems, and in higher aims. In our own time, we have seen the great group of evolutionary scientists—Darwin, Spencer, Huxley, Tyndall, Wallace, and their fellows—work a revolution in scientific philosophy, in religious thought, and in moral teaching. Dr. John Fiske, of Cambridge, Mass., was the co-worker, companion, and warm personal friend of these men, and he contributed largely to the literature of the revolution which they have wrought. Then turning to the materials of American history, Dr. Fiske has applied the same system of inquiry and interpretation—has written the history and development of American institutions from the view-point of an evolutionary scientist. It is this fact which makes him easily the greatest of our historians—this fact which makes him the founder of a new school of historical writers. And it is because his pages are entirely free from aggressive partisanship; because his judgment of men and measures is expressed in benignant, but always clear and strong language, that I believe his works will live for generations as text books for students of political science.

In liberty's great cause we ever need historians and philosophers who abstain from definite proposals, that they may teach by gentleness and persuasion—that they may prepare the way for those of us who mean to do things, or die trying. In this respect it seems to me that Dr. Fiske achieved a superlatively grand work—a work which will rank him far and high above all other scientific and historical writers, specifically because all his teaching can now be turned quickly into statutes which will surely make for social welfare and human happiness. He did not live to complete his great plan—did not live to share with us the fast-coming glory of a complete vindication of the principles he taught with unfaltering faith, the principles he never failed to make perfectly clear. But he did enough to win a deathless fame; did enough to insure us safety in the present and future; and did enough to make it easy to see the light, to know the right, and to follow without thought of fear!

Since the death of Dr. Fiske, less than two years ago, two volumes of his "Essays, Political and Literary" have been given to the world; and from these imperishable pages I take the speaking extracts which follow:

"We often hear people say that the experiment of universal suffrage is a failure, that it simply results in the sway of demagogues, who marshal at the polls their hordes of bribed or petted followers. This is no doubt very bad. It is a serious danger, against which we must provide. But do these objectors ever stop to think how much worse it would be if the demagogue, instead of marshalling his creatures at the polls, were able to stand up and inflame their passions with the cry that in this country they have no vote, nor share in making the laws, that they are

kept out of their just dues by an upper class of rich men who can make the laws? If your hod carrier were sulking for the want of a vote he would be ten times more dangerous than any so-called friend of labor can now make him. As it is, his vote does not teach him much, because of his dull mind and narrow experience, but, after all, it gives him the feeling that he is of some account in the world, that his individuality is to some extent respected; and this is unquestionably one of the most powerful and conservative safeguards of American civilization. In point of fact, our political freedom and our social welfare are to-day in infinitely greater peril from Pennsylvania's ironmasters and the owners of silver mines in Nevada than from all the ignorant foreigners that have flocked to us from Europe. Our legacy of danger for this generation was bequeathed us by Hamilton, not by Jefferson."

Of the issues which took definite form in those critical years when Hamilton was doing his utmost to perpetuate British rule, and when Jefferson threw down the gauntlet and became Liberty's herald and acknowledged leader, Dr. Fiske has this to say:

"It certainly required a pretty liberal interpretation of the Constitution to justify Congress in assuming these debts, but, if it had not been done, it is very doubtful if the Union could have long been held together. We must always be grateful to Hamilton for his daring and sagacious policy, yet, at the same time, we must acknowledge that the opposition was animated by a sound and wholesome feeling. Every day showed more clearly that Hamilton's aim was to insure the stability of the Government through a firm alliance with capitalists, and the fear was natural that such a policy, if not held in check, might end in transforming the Government into a plutocracy—that is to say, a government in which political power is monopolized by rich men, and employed in furthering their selfish interests without regard to the general welfare of the people. Those who expressed such a fear were more prescient than their Federalist adversaries believed them to be, for now, after the lapse of a hundred years, the gravest danger that threatens us is precisely such a plutocracy. It has been one of our national misfortunes that for three-quarters

of a century the mere maintenance of the Union seemed to call for theories which, when put into operation, are very far from making a government that is in the fullest sense of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Then of tariff taxation, which Hamilton made his chief source of revenue, and which we are still taught, is the only practicable means of paying the bills of our "billion and a half Congress," Dr. Fiske says:

"This gentle, insidious method enables vast sums to be taken from people's pockets without their so much as suspecting it. It raises prices, that is all; and the dulness of the human mind may be safely counted upon, so that when a tax is wrapped up in the extra fifty cents charged for a yard of cloth, it is so effectually hidden that most people do not know it is there. Custom-house duties were accordingly levied, and the foreign trade of the United States was already so considerable that a large revenue was at once realized from this source. To win added favor to this policy *Hamilton advocated a tariff for what is called protection,* as well as for revenue, although his argument fell very short of meeting the exorbitant requirements of the *pampered industries of our own time.* Here, as in his assumption policy, it was Hamilton's aim to *ally the government with powerful class interests.* He saw the vast natural resources of the country for manufactures, he knew that flourishing industries must presently spring up, and *he understood how to enlist their selfish interests* in defense of a liberal construction of the powers of government.

"The completion of Hamilton's general scheme was the establishment of a national bank, in which the government was to own a certain portion of the stock, and which was to make certain stated loans to the government. *This was another feature of the alliance between the government and the moneyed classes.* Like the other kindred measures, it was attacked as unconstitutional, and as in the other cases the objection was met by asserting the loose constructionist theory of the Constitution.

Hamilton's FINANCIAL POLICY was thus in the widest sense a POLITICAL POLICY.

It was the exposure of all Hamilton's schemes and policies, and it was the utter rout of the Federal party—in short, it was the election of Thomas Jefferson to the Presidency in 1800, that ushered in the golden age of the Republic. For it was then that the patriots of the Revolution saw plainly that the thirty-five-years' struggle was over; that at last the good fight had been won; and that henceforth, forever, American freemen were to be governed only "by consent of the governed."

"The storm is over, and we are in port!"
—*Jefferson to Samuel Adams.*

Then it was that Liberty's herald and leader demonstrated in practice what he had long held in theory:—"the self-evident truth that all men are created equal;" that "that government is best which governs least;" that "this government, the world's best hope, is the strongest government on earth; the only one where every man, at the call of the laws, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasion of the public order as his own personal concern." Then it was that he taught in precept and proved in practice, the principles and policies which governed us through full sixty years of the most vigorous growth and abounding prosperity FOR THE WHOLE PEOPLE that we have ever known, or that mankind has ever witnessed. And it was during these sixty years of Jeffersonian simplicity in governmental affairs that we formed the character, grew the manhood, and massed the power which first put down the most awful rebellion in recorded

history, and then went straight-on with the work of building a Nation so mighty that it now laughs at the thought of foreign interference with the destiny which is ours to fill out.

"*LIBERTE, EGALITE, FRATERNITE.*"

It was a vision of this coming reality which enabled Turgot, the great philosopher and financier of France, to pen this prophecy in 1778:

"It is impossible not to offer vows that this people may arrive at all the prosperity of which is it susceptible. It is the hope of the human race. It can become its model. It must prove to the world, by the fact, that men can be free and tranquil, and can dispense with the chains of all kinds which tyrants and *charlatans of every cloth* have pretended to impose *under the pretext of public good.* It must give the example of political liberty, of religious liberty, of commercial and industrial liberty. The asylum which it opens to the oppressed of all nations must console the earth. The facility it affords for escape from a bad government will force the European governments to be just and enlightened."

And it was the same vision of the certain future which enabled Louis Aleman, the cardinal and great statesman of France—ever-glorious France who gave us La Fayette—to supplement Turgot with these inspiring words:

"Out of all these prophecies and forecastings of the European mind, there rises the complete and splendid vision of a boundless new state, whose language shall be the English tongue, whose citizens shall be a new cosmopolitan race, whose industry and commerce shall flourish as those of Tyre and Sidon never did, whose power shall be irresistible on sea, and the very vastness of whose territory and political unity shall make it invincible. * * * * So powerful will this State become that ancient Europe will be obliged to modify its monarchies before the pressure of an enormous, happy, progressive democracy."

If there be timid souls who take fright at the plain speaking which I have deemed best to employ, or if there be those who question the soundness of the conclusions which I shall draw in these pages, let them study Dr. Fiske's "Essays, Political and Literary;" let them read his "Civil Government in the United States," his "Beginnings of New England," his "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors;" his "Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America;" his "Critical Period of American History;" his "Mississippi Valley in the Civil War"—let them, in short, buy or borrow and thoughtfully read everything from the pen of this foremost historian of the American people.

Having done this, then let them turn to a study of the marvellous writings, and the more marvellous work, of the man who penned the Declaration of Independence, who re-wrote the Code of Virginia as a model for all the States, who gave us religious liberty, who freed us from the feudal curse of primogeniture and entail, who made the purchase of the Louisiana territory, who penned the policy and shaped the system of homestead settlement on our public domain, who laid the foundations of our educational systems, and who, in precept and practice, gave scientific precision and lasting order to the American system of representative and federated government by the people—A man, in truth, who lived to achieve a work so grandly great in creative and constructive statesmanship, that it is today, and must be for all time, the very basis of all other work in the cause of liberty, equality, and human happiness!

ANDREW JACKSON, NULLIFICATION AND BANK MONOPOLY.

"By the Eternal! the money-power shall not rule this land!"

"To say that any state may at pleasure secede from the Union, is to say that the United States are not a Nation."

"Were we base enough to surrender our independent rights, secured to us by the bravery and blood of our forefathers, we are unworthy of the name of freemen."

"The corporations and wealthy individuals who are engaged in large manufacturing establishments, desire a high tariff to increase their gains. Designing politicians will support it to conciliate their favor, and to obtain means for profuse expenditure for the purpose of purchasing influence in other quarters. Do not allow yourselves, my fellow-citizens, to be misled in this subject. It is a system of injustice, and, if persisted in, will lead to corruption and must end in ruin."

—*Andrew Jackson.*

Chapter VI.

After eight years in the Presidency, easily the most memorable in all American annals, Jefferson retired to Monticello—to go on with the work of penning instruction for us and for all future ages of mankind!

James Madison, his younger companion, lifelong friend, and devoted follower, succeeded him as President; and it was Madison's clear head and steady hand that piloted us safely through the rough seas of the embargo and the second war with Great Britain—General Andrew Jackson

fighting and winning the great battle of New Orleans, which sealed the book of foreign interference with our national aspirations!

The "Era of good-feeling" was ushered in with the Presidency of Monroe—leaving us, and leaving all mankind, a priceless heritage in the Monroe Doctrine!

And now we come to Jackson.

The war of 1812 had left us a burden of debt—and therein the promoters of special legislation found their first opportunity since Hamilton's time. They could make little headway while a Democratic President like Monroe was in the White House; but already Clay, Webster and John Quincy Adams loomed large as Presidential candidates, and leaders of the propaganda of Protection, Internal Improvements, and a re-charter of the trouble-breeding Bank of the United States —Hamilton's now familiar legacy of British finance, British Protection, and British Paternalism in national affairs! Jackson was the opposing candidate, and he stood squarely for Jeffersonian principles and rugged Americanism.

In the Presidential election of 1824, the vote in the Electoral College stood thus:

Andrew Jackson	99
John Quincy Adams.....	84
William H. Crawford.....	41
Henry Clay	37
Total	261
Majority Necessary	131

No election resulting, the contest was fought out in the House of Representatives; and the Con-

stitution requiring that a choice should be confined to the three leading candidates, Clay was out of the race, and Crawford was dying of paralysis. But Clay was Speaker of the House, and the most popular and influential Speaker we have ever had. Jackson's friends claimed that, in addition to leading in the Electoral College, he was obviously the popular second choice in all the states which voted for both Crawford and Clay. The Legislature of Kentucky, Clay's state, even passed a resolution instructing their representatives to vote for Jackson. But the rivalry between Clay and Jackson was embittered by personal enmity; and it being anything to beat Jackson, Clay's vote and influence made John Quincy Adams President.

So elected, Adams at once tendered Clay the post of Secretary of State in his Cabinet, thus putting him in line of succession to the Presidency, as was the custom in those days—and Clay made the mistake of his life in accepting! Then arose the cry of "bargain, intrigue and corruption," which led on to a campaign of personal abuse the most regrettable in our history. Jackson's friends charged that Clay and Adams had entered into a corrupt bargain to deprive him of the Presidency, and to defeat the will of the people; and Jackson himself believed it to be true. Clay and Adams indignantly denied the charge, presenting abundant evidence to disprove it; and in the calm light of this late day we can see plainly that no breath of suspicion can rest against the veracity and spotless integrity of either Clay or Adams. Indeed, they were men of heroic type

in point of personal honor and fearless frankness in advocating what they believed to be right; but they were both sadly limited in political foresight, as history has clearly proved. And Jackson rightly divined that however honest they might be in their convictions, Clay, Adams, and Webster, were none the less deliberately seeking to advance their political ambitions through a party policy of legislation in favor of special interests. This view was abundantly confirmed by the enactment of "the Tariff of Abominations" in 1828—the direct result of which was the Nullification rebellion in 1832.

In the campaign of 1828, therefore, the battle-cry was "The rights of the people against bargain and corruption;" and it was then that Jackson addressed a letter to the Kentucky committee in which he first used the phrase now certain to become famous. Said he:

"If it be true that the administration have gone into power contrary to the voice of the nation, and are now expecting by means of this power, thus acquired, to mould the public will into an acquiescence with their authority, then is the issue fairly made out—*Shall the government or the people rule?*"

General Floyd of Virginia also stated the issue in telling fashion by saying, we are "now engaged in a great war—a war of patronage and power against patriotism and the people."

When the contest came, Jackson simply swept the country. Adams only carried New England, New Jersey and Delaware, with a portion of the electoral votes of New York and Maryland. In Pennsylvania Jackson had a popular majority of 50,000; and in the Electoral College he received

178 to 83 votes for Adams. Jackson was no sooner in the White House than he began the work of insisting upon a reform of the tariff, exposing the methods of the Bank, and vetoing log-rolling measures for internal improvements. But at every point he encountered the formidable opposition of the combined forces of Protection and special legislation, then brilliantly led by Henry Clay and Daniel Webster. The contest was exactly parallel to that which occurred when the people repudiated the McKinley bill and re-elected Mr. Cleveland in 1892—and the result was the same. The will of the people was defeated by Clay and Webster, then both in the Senate, precisely as in 1894 the will of the people was again defeated by Aldrich, Lodge, Allison, Elkins, Quay and others —all in the Senate!

But Jackson was relentless, and fortunately he had ahead of him the power of another appeal to a vote of the people. As the contest wore along he was able to make it perfectly apparent, as he had clearly seen from the beginning, that the real power of the "combination" centered in the Bank of the United States—that permanent "engine of influence" contrived and set up by Hamilton. By this time, as Jackson said, the Bank had been "converted into a permanent electioneering machine." Senator Benton of Missouri, the leader of the Democratic forces in Congress, thus pointedly stated the issue:

"You may continue to be for *a* bank and for Jackson, but you cannot be for *this* bank and for Jackson. The bank is now the open, as it has long been the secret, enemy of Jackson.

"The war is now upon Jackson, and if he is defeated all the

rest will fall an easy prey. What individual could stand in the states against the power of that bank, and that bank flushed with a victory over the conqueror of the conquerors of Bonaparte? The whole government would fall into the hands of the moneyed power. An oligarchy would be immediately established, and that oligarchy in a few generations would ripen into a monarchy."

But Jackson's priceless phrase, now slightly modified to meet the definite issue of 1832, stated the whole question so clearly that the people could not misunderstand:

"SHALL THE BANK, OR THE PEOPLE RULE?"

That was the issue in a nutshell, and at last the grand old hero had them cornered where they could not get away! Jackson was re-nominated amid a blaze of Democratic enthusiasm, and the Whigs confidently nominated Clay—precisely as the Republicans are now confidently planning to nominate Roosevelt. When the contest came and the people spoke, Jackson had again swept the country! In the Electoral College he received 219 of the total 288 votes—Clay receiving but 49. Commenting upon this result in his admirable biography of Clay, Mr. Carl Schurz says:

"It was a stunning defeat. Clay and his friends stood wondering how it could have happened.

"Clay had committed two grave blunders in statesmanship, and one equally grave in political tactics. The South was in a dangerous ferment against the tariff. The impending extinguishment of the public debt made a large reduction of the revenue necessary. The measure he (Clay) did propose reduced the revenue very little, and, by maintaining the high protective duties, exasperated the South still more. This was the first blunder in statesmanship. The other was that, instead of advising the United States Bank to keep clear of politics and to accede to

any reasonable modification of its charter that might avert the opposition of Jackson, he forced the fight, and made the question of the bank a party question.

"The blunder in political tactics, was that he believed he could excite the enthusiasm of the masses for a great moneyed corporation in its contest against a popular hero like Jackson,—a most amazing infatuation; and thus he made the bank question the leading issue in the presidential campaign."

And he might have added, that Clay spent the remainder of his political career in explaining and trying to induce the people to forgive and forget —but in vain. The people never would permit him to be President!

In like manner, aspiring politicians need to take very careful note of the further fact, that Daniel Webster marred a brilliant career and died a disappointed man, solely because the lust of ambition tempted him to betray the people's cause by repudiating his deep-seated and outspoken free-trade convictions. For it was Daniel Webster, the professed Protectionist, who in 1820, "then in the fullness of his intellectual powers," was formally selected as the spokesman of New England merchants, then opposed to Protection, and in a great speech he "claimed for America the rights of American free trade," going on to say this:

"To individuals, this policy is as injurious as it is to government. A system of artificial government protection leads the people to too much reliance on government. If left to their own choice of pursuits, they depend on their own skill and their own industry. But if government essentially affects their occupations by its systems of bounties and preferences, it is natural, when in distress, that they should call on government for relief. Hence a perpetual contest, carried on between the different interests of society. Agriculturists taxed today to sustain manufacturers—commerce taxed tomorrow to sustain agriculture—and then im-

positions, perhaps, on both manufactures and agriculture to support commerce. And when government has exhausted its invention in these modes of legislation it finds the result less favorable than the original and natural state and course of things. He could hardly conceive of anything worse than a policy which should place the great interests of his country in hostility to one another—a policy which should keep them in constant conflict, and bring them every year to fight their battles in the committee rooms of the House of Representatives at Washington."

But we have seen only a small part of the heroic public service which has immortalized Andrew Jackson's name. Every soldier, and every soldier's son, needs to read and ponder the thrilling story of his daring and resplendent military career—for here was a dauntless and an invincible commander who never was and never could be beaten! And every citizen, every defender of the blessed Union which has cost so much in blood and treasure, needs to brand in memory the facts which follow.

As the logical and deplorable outcome of legislation for the exclusive benefit of New England and the North, at the direct and heavy expense of the people of the South, all the leading men of South Carolina met in State Convention at Charleston on November 24, 1832, and, without a dissenting voice, passed an Ordinance embodying these declarations:

"That the tariff law of 1828, and the amendment to the same of 1832, were null, void, and no law, nor binding upon this State, its officers or citizens."

"No duties enjoined by that law or its amendment, shall be paid or permitted to be paid, in the State of South Carolina, after the first day of February, 1833."

The document was of course lengthy, but I give

enough to indicate its clear intent. The Governor of the State, Robert Y. Hayne, then sent a message to the Legislature in which he said:

"I hereby publicly declare that I hold myself bound, by the highest of all obligations, to carry into full effect, not only the Ordinance of the convention, but every act of the legislature, etc."

The legislature instantly responded by passing the acts requisite for carrying the Ordinance into practical effect; the Governor was authorized to accept volunteers; and "the state resounded with the noise of warlike preparation." Medals were struck bearing the legend "John C. Calhoun—First President of the Southern Confederacy." Blue cockades, with palmetto buttons in the center, "appeared upon thousands of hats, bonnets and bosoms." (Parton.)

Now, mark you, this was Andrew Jackson's native State. He was a Southern man, and himself a slave-owner. And all the power of his mighty will, every resource of his Presidential office, had been used, and were still being used, to secure the repeal of "the Tariff of Abominations," which caused all the trouble.

But how did Andrew Jackson meet secession? Three weeks before the convention was held, he carefully penned explicit instructions to the customs officers to use the utmost vigilance in enforcing the very letter of the law, and to report instantly the slightest disposition to violate it. He then issued a Proclamation, which is to this day a foundation stone of our national institutions; and straightway he strengthened the garri-

sons with national troops under General Winfield Scott, and assembled a fleet in Charleston harbor in command of the young man whom we know as Admiral Farragut. When the fateful day arrived, Mr. Parton tells us that John C. Calhoun was the most thoroughly frightened man in Washington. For Old Hickory had made it known that in the event of any trouble, his first move would be to jail Calhoun, and every member of Congress from South Carolina, on a charge of High Treason!

There was no disturbance—no secession.

And this is why, in those anxious and awful days of 1860-61, patriots who remembered the past sighed deeply, "Oh! for one hour of Andrew Jackson."

Some time after these events, writing to ex-President Monroe concerning the first secession convention, held at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1815—when the Embargo touched New England's pocket nerve and when New England set the secession example—Jackson said this:

"I am free to declare, had I commanded the military department when the Hartford Convention met, if it had been the last act of my life, I should have punished the three principal leaders of the party. I am certain an independent court-martial would have condemned them, under the second section of the act establishing rules and regulations for the government of the army of the United States. These kind of men, although called Federalists, are really monarchists and traitors to the constituted government."

Mr. Roosevelt, the original free-trader, now posing as the only logical candidate of the Protection party, tells us in his life of Benton that Jackson was an "ignorant, headstrong, and

straightforward soldier." But I fancy that before Theodore Roosevelt is much older, the American people will teach him that Andrew Jackson deserved and won immortal fame, because he lived to prove that a soldier's courage, a soldier's conscience, and a soldier's invincible will are needed in the White House, NOW AND ALWAYS, to suppress insurrection in whatever form, and ESPECIALLY, to hold at bay the iniquity, the avarice, and the blind greed of men who seek to enrich themselves through Protection legislation and the secret and conscienceless manipulation of the people's franchises for public utilities.

"Time at last sets all things even."

I have commended Mr. Schurz's biography of Clay to my readers, because it is by all odds the best review of that critical period in American history that I have ever yet found. But I would remind every reader that Mr. Schurz is one of a group of commendable and earnest workers in the cause of Civil Service Reform who delude themselves with the idea that Jackson is mainly responsible for all the ills that we have suffered from the spoils system. That is so wide of the truth that *it is contemptible!* And I predict that hereafter, civil service reformers will find it altogether convenient to recognize the fact that the spoils system had its beginnings in New York State politics as early as 1800, under Aaron Burr's influence. When Andrew Jackson was commissioned to execute the people's will, he found the public service of the whole country permeated with Protection influence—found that

even little whipper-snappers in department offices in Washington, and especially throughout the Protection North, were active partisans in open league with Clay, Webster, and Adams; and all their resources were employed to oppose reform and to promote Protection, Internal Improvements, and the Bank Monopoly. Jackson "turned the rascals out"—as he should have done, heaven bless his immortal and patriot memory!

After forty years of Protection jobbery, and disgraceful municipal corruption, the sentimental civil service reformers of our day have waked-up to the necessity for doing precisely what Jackson's genius prompted him to do and teach full three generations ago:—that is to say, civil service reformers who have any leaven of common sense, now advise, individually and collectively, that public servants be dismissed for active partisanship.

"The moment a man yields his judgment to popular whim, he may be compared to a ship without its rudder in a gale—he is sure to be dashed against a rock." —*Andrew Jackson.*

And if glorious old Andrew Jackson were alive to-day, who dares to doubt that he would be leading the van of those who know that "a public office is a public trust"—Those who know that little office-holders are the mere creatures of the political machine—Those who know that the only way to purify the public service is to lay bare the motives and methods of the millionaires who first debase and then use the political machine to enrich themselves at public expense—Those who

know, as Jefferson and Jackson lived to prove, that the one thing more needful than all others is, TO DO THE RIGHT, AND DARE THE CONSEQUENCES!

And what is the judgment of history upon Jackson's work? Let Mr. Schurz speak first:

"The anti-Jackson current in the local elections, which cheered the Whigs so much, did not last long. The business panic caused by the removal of the deposits was for a time genuine and serious enough. But, as people became aware that the removal of the deposits did not mean the immediate breaking down of everything, the crisis gradually subsided, and the opposition lost much of their political capital.

"It would have been well for Clay and his party had they recognized the fact that not only this Bank of the United States could not be saved, but that no other great central bank, as the fiscal agent of the government, could be put in its place with benefit to the country.

"An institution whose interests depend upon the favor of the government is always apt to be driven into politics, be it by the exactions of its political friends, or by the attacks of its political enemies. Its capacity for mischief will then be proportioned to the greatness of its power; and the power of a central bank, acting as the fiscal agent of the government, disposing of a large capital, and controlling branch banks all over the country, must necessarily be very large. Being able to encourage or embarrass business by expanding or curtailing bank accommodations, and to favor this and punish that locality by transferring its facilities, it may benefit or injure the interests of large masses of men, and thereby exercise an influence upon their political conduct,—not to speak of its opportunities for propitiating men in public position, as well as the press, by its substantial favors. So it was in the case of the Bank of the United States. Although Jackson's denunciations of its corrupting practices went far beyond the truth, there can be no doubt that, when it at last fought for the renewal of its charter and against the removal of the deposits, it did use its power for political effect.

"An institution like the Bank of the United States, whatever its temporary usefulness may have been, is therefore not a proper fiscal agent for the government of a democratic country; and the

American people have reason to remember with gratitude Salmon P. Chase and the Congress of 1863 for having, in the greatest crisis of public affairs, given the country a national banking system equal to the United States Bank in efficiency, superior to it in safety, avoiding the evils of a concentrated money power, and, as subsequently perfected, entirely free from that flavor of monopoly which made the old bank in its time so odious."

Mr. Schurz honors himself by these frank words—does some scant honor to the patriot-soldier who devoted a long and brilliant public career to the preservation of that liberty, that equality and that Union, which, for three centuries past, have made America a safe refuge for millions of European freemen who, like Mr. Schurz, have fled from tyranny and oppression at home.

Thus the calm judgment of history is now beginning to make it plain that Andrew Jackson rightly ranks in the forefront of our greatest statesmen—not alone for what he did, but especially for what he thought! Men in great station become great statesmen only when they divine the fundamental truth—only when in words, and in actions which speak louder than words, they give form and substance to the eternal right! For in the main, history is a mere pageant and vain show of great offices, high honors, and golden opportunities bestowed upon little men who knew not how to use them.

"The many are called, but the few are chosen."

Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln, tower majestically above all other figures in American history, because "their heads were equal to true and solid calculations of glory"—

because they SAW THE RIGHT, and they DARED TO DO IT! And if now my readers will turn to Dr. John Fiske's two Essays on Jackson and his era, there they will find the scientific and philosophic historian of the American people paying this speaking tribute to the genius and patriotism which inspired every thought and act of our greatest soldier-patriot since Washington:

"Among the ablest books on government that have ever been written—books that ought to be carefully read and deeply pondered by every intelligent American man and woman—are the three works of Herbert Spencer, entitled "Social Statics," "The Study of Sociology," and "Man and the State." The theory of government set forth in these books is that of the most clear-headed and powerful thinker now living in the world, a man who, moreover, is thinking the thoughts of to-morrow as well as of to-day. In spirit it is most profoundly American, but not in the sense in which that word was understood by Clay and the Whigs. *It was Jackson whose sounder instincts prompted him to a course of action quite in harmony with the highest political philosophy.* During the administration of John Quincy Adams there was fast growing up a tendency toward the mollycoddling, old granny theory of government, according to which the ruling powers are to take care of the people, build their roads for them, do their banking for them, rob Peter to pay Paul for carrying on a losing business, and tinker and bemuddle things generally. It was, of course, beyond the power of any man to override a tendency of this sort, but Jackson did much to check it; and still more would have come from his initiative if the questions of slavery and secession had not so soon come up to absorb men's minds and divert attention from everything else. The protective theory of government has too much life in it yet; but without Jackson it would no doubt have been worse. His destruction of the bank was brought about in a way that one cannot wish to see often repeated; but there can be little doubt that it has saved us from a great deal of trouble and danger. By this time the bank, if it had lasted, would probably have become a most formidable engine of corruption."

I shall not stop here to review in detail our political and economic history between Jackson's time and the outbreak of the Civil War; because the Slavery issue then arose to overshadow every other political question. Suffice it to say that Jackson's splendid work finally gave us the boon of "the Free Trade Tariff of 1846;" and then it was that the country's commerce and industry rushed forward by leaps and bounds. Then it was that "Go West, young man!" became the inspiring watchword of the whole Atlantic seaboard. Then it was that the great era of railroad building began to amaze the world with the rapidity of its progress. Then it was that the far-famed American Clippers sailed the seas and carried our commerce and our colors triumphantly to every port and harbor of the world. For then, as Dr. Fiske wisely observes, we had not learned how "to protect ships out of existence."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, AND FORGOTTEN HISTORY.

"I tremble for my country when I think of the negro, and know that God is just." —*Thomas Jefferson.*

"All the agony that creased its furrows upon the brow of Abraham Lincoln was foretold in those (Jefferson's) solemn words." —*Dr. John Fiske.*

"If slavery be not wrong, nothing is wrong."

"I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are what we would be in their situation. If slavery did *not* exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it *did* now exist among us, we would not instantly give it up."

—*Abraham Lincoln.*

Chapter VII.

I presume that a very large majority of the young men who boast themselves Republicans and who proudly follow the lead of Mr. Hanna and Mr. Roosevelt in voting for Protection and "a full dinner pail," honestly believe they are voting for Abraham Lincoln's principles.

But the reader who has followed me thus far—and especially the reader whose recollections go back to the days when the great party of freedom was forming—will require no argument to demonstrate that the Republican party was deliberately created as a new political organization, first, to secure our great West against the introduction of slavery, as specifically provided by Jefferson when he drew the Ordinance of 1784-87; and be-

yond that, to oppose identically the same Protection, identically the same system of ring rule by aristocrats, and identically the same scandalous abuses of power for which the Republican party of our day stands squarely responsible.

The early Republican leaders not only repudiated slavery extension, Democratic secession, and Whig Protection, but they were so intent upon standing for the principles of the fathers, that they adopted the very name—REPUBLICAN—by which the party of the people had been designated when Jefferson led in opposition to the aristocratic and monarchical tendencies of the old Federal party.

Thousands of men and women still living well remember, also, that because Lincoln repudiated the confiscation proposals of the Northern abolitionists, and also repudiated the rebellion threats of the Southern leaders; because he stood staunchly for the preservation of the Union and the abolition of slavery *through compensation to slave owners;* in other words, because he stood bravely for our Constitution's guarantee of property rights, stood for the interests of *the whole people* as opposed to the pocket interest of the North and the slave-holding interests of the South, the moneyed aristocracy of the North joined the slave-holding aristocracy of the South in denouncing him as a "free-nigger agitator," a "Black Republican," a political demagogue, a buffoon, and a vulgar clown—denounced him precisely as Jefferson and Samuel Adams were denounced in their day; denounced and spurned his leadership precisely as Andrew Jackson was

spurned and despised by the bank monopolists and the Whig Protectionists of his day.

It is a further significant fact, now apparently entirely forgotten, that Salmon P. Chase, founder of our national banking system and easily the most commanding figure in Lincoln's cabinet, not only avowed himself a Jeffersonian Democrat, *but actually sought the Democratic nomination for President in* 1872. In name, in principle, in purpose, and notably in the person of its immortal leader, the Republican party was essentially the party of "the plain people"—as opposed to an aristocracy of wealth and privilege. Lincoln was, in very truth, "a man of the people"—a nobleman sprung from obscurity and poverty, but bred of the stock that has builded and saved our free institutions. And just what Lincoln stood for, just what he had in mind, and precisely what he proposed as a means of saving the Union, abolishing slavery, and obliterating sectional hatred and strife, has never been more clearly indicated than in this noble tribute to his genius and patriotism from Col. Henry Watterson, the brilliant Southern editor:

"Jefferson Davis declared that, next to the surrender at Appomattox, the murder of Abraham Lincoln made the darkest day in the calendar for the South and the people of the South. Why? Because Mr. Davis had come to a knowledge of the magnanimity of Mr. Lincoln's heart and the generosity of his intentions.

"If Lincoln had lived there would have been no era of reconstruction, with its repressive agencies and oppressive legislation. If Lincoln had lived there would have been wanting to the extremism of the time the bloody cue of his taking off, to mount the steeds and spur the flank of vengeance. For Lincoln entertained, with respect to the rehabilitation of the Union, the single

wish that the Southern States, to use his homely phraseology, 'should come back home and behave themselves,' and, if he had lived he would have made this wish effectual, as he made everything effectual to which he seriously addressed himself.

"His was the genius of common sense. Of perfect intellectual aplomb, he sprang from a Virginia pedigree and was born in Kentucky. He knew all about the South, its institutions, its traditions and its peculiarities. From first to last throughout the angry debates preceding the war, amid all the passions of the war itself, not one vindictive, proscriptive word fell from his tongue or pen, while during its progress there was scarcely a day when he did not project his great personality between some Southern man or woman and danger. Yet the South does not know, except as a kind of hearsay, that this big brained, big souled man was a friend, a friend at court, when friends were most in need, having the will and the power to rescue it from the wolves of brutality and rapine whom the history of all wars tells us the lust of victory, the very smell of battle, lures from their hiding to prey upon the helpless, the dying and the dead. But, pursuing the after story of those dread days, Jefferson Davis knew this and died doing full justice to the character of Abraham Lincoln.

"Indeed, payment for the slaves had been all along in Lincoln's mind. He believed the North equally guilty with the South for the original existence of slavery. He was a just man, abhorring proscription; an old conscience Whig, indeed, who stood in awe of the Constitution and his oath of office. He wanted to leave the South no right to claim that the North, finding slave labor unremunerative, had sold its negroes to the South and then turned about and by force of arms confiscated what it had unloaded at a profit. He fully recognized slaves as property. The proclamation of emancipation was issued as a war measure. In his message to Congress of December, 1862, he proposed payment for the slaves, elaborating a scheme in detail and urging it with copious and cogent argument. 'The people of the South,' said he, addressing a war Congress at that moment in the throes of a bloody war with the South, 'are not more responsible for the original introduction of this property than are the people of the North, and when it is remembered how unhesitatingly we all use cotton and sugar and share the profits of dealing in them, it may

not be quite safe to say that the South has been more responsible than the North for its continuance.'

"The years are gliding swiftly by. Only a little while, and there shall not be one man living who saw service on either side of that great struggle of systems and ideas. Its passions long ago vanished from manly bosoms. That has come to pass within a single generation in America which in Europe required ages to accomplish. There is no disputing the verdict of events. Let us relate them truly and interpret them fairly. If we would have the North do justice to our heroes we must do justice to its heroes. I here render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's even as I would render unto God the things that are God's. As living men, standing erect in the presence of Heaven and the world, we have grown gray without being ashamed; and we need not fear that history will fail to vindicate our integrity. When those are gone that fought the battle and posterity comes to strike the final balance sheet, it will be shown that the makers of the constitution left the relation of the States to the federal government and of the federal government to the States open to a double construction. It will be told how the mistaken notion that slave labor was requisite to the profitable cultivation of sugar, rice and cotton raised a paramount property interest in the southern section of the Union, whilst in the northern section, responding to the trend of modern thought and the outer movements of mankind, there arose a great moral sentiment against slavery. The conflict thus established, gradually but surely sectionalizing party lines, was as inevitable as it was irrepressible. It was fought out to its bitter and logical conclusion at Appomattox. It found us a huddle of petty sovereignties, held together by a rope of sand. It made and it left us a nation. Esto perpetua!"

It was in the light of this known history, it was because he clearly understood Lincoln, as he also understood Jefferson and Jackson, that Dr. John Fiske wrote this:

"It is a pity that great political questions could not more often be argued in an atmosphere of sweetness and light. Their solution would exhibit a kind and degree of sense such as the world is not yet familiar with. Suppose that in 1860 the Americans,

north and south, could have discussed the whole slavery question without passion; and suppose that all the slaves had been set free, and their owners compensated at their full market value; how small would have been the cost in dollars and cents compared with the cost of the Civil War, to say nothing of the saving of life! Such a supposition seems grotesque, so great is the difference, in respect of foresight and self-control, between the human nature implied in it and that with which we are familiar. It is to be hoped that the slow modifications wrought by civilized life will by and by bring mankind to that stage of wisdom which now seems unattainable; but for many a weary year no doubt will still be seen *the same old groping and stumbling, the same old self-defeating selfishness.*"

This is noble teaching—the kind of teaching which is slowly but surely redeeming the world. But, meanwhile, so long as man is brutish, so long as we must deal with "self-defeating selfishness," and so long as greed is the gospel which dominates the lives of public men, and especially of public "benefactors"—the "sweetness and light" in which I put my trust is of the kind that George Washington, Andrew Jackson and Ulysses S. Grant practiced with heroic skill!

Had either man been in the White House in 1860, there would have been no war!

And today we are exempt from all thought or fear of Civil War, solely because these three men have successively taught American freemen *precisely how to prevent it!* For to preserve order is the first function of government; and without our embattled farmers and patriot soldiers, without the lasting lessons which Washington and Jackson taught the British, and which Grant had to teach our fathers, we can picture how quickly Wall Street "Captains of Finance" would now

make short shrift of attempting to supplant American institutions with aristocratic rule—with the "strong government" which Alexander Hamilton labored so earnestly to fasten upon us.

"Our government is the most expensive, most complicated, cumbrous, and limited * * * * Other republics, long since passed away, have lasted as long as we, and borne for their time as great a sway in the world * * * * while those of the monarchies and despotisms count by thousands (of years.)"
—*Whitelaw Reid, in 1902.*

"The aristocracy of our moneyed corporations dare already to challenge our Government to trial, and bid defiance to the laws of our country." —*Thomas Jefferson, in 1816.*

As the son of a soldier who fought under Grant, I am among those—too few in numbers nowadays—who flatly and frankly hold that the Civil War, with all its unspeakable horrors, was needless. It was conceived in "self-defeating selfishness;" it was born of ring rule and rank political injustice; and it was the awful penalty that we paid, first, for the crime of Slavery, and, next, for its counterpart in crime, the policy of Protection—to enrich the few, at the direct and burdensome expense of the many! For from the very birth of the Nation to this hour, SLAVERY and PROTECTION have been the twin evils—the twin legacies of British misrule—which have cursed us with their pocket-interest teaching, as I shall now prove by citations from forgotten history which can admit of no question.

The first act of Thomas Jefferson's public life, when he was elected to the Virginia Legislature in 1769 as a young man of twenty-six, was to prepare and second a bill "for the permission of the

Emancipation of slaves." Six years later when he was commissioned by the Continental Congress to pen the Declaration of Independence, this is a now-forgotten paragraph which the Congress struck out, but which still stands in the original draft in Jefferson's familiar handwriting:

He (George III) has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative, suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.

So in 1784, when he penned the original Ordinance for the government and homestead settlement of our vast public domain—now an empire in extent, in population, in wealth, and in power—these were the words Jefferson incorporated, and which still stand:

> "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory."

And after a long life-time spent in advocacy of these sentiments, after all earthly honors had been heaped upon him in reward for his priceless services to mankind, in 1820 Jefferson wrote this:

"This momentous question, like a fire-bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the

knell of the Union. It is hushed indeed for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper. I can say, with conscious truth, that there is not a man on earth who would sacrifice more than I would to relieve us from this heavy reproach, in any practicable way. The cession of that kind of property, for so it is misnamed, is a bagatelle which would not cost me a second thought, if, in that way, a general emancipation and expatriation could be effected; and, gradually, and with due sacrifices, I think it might be. But as it is, we have the wolf by the ears, and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go. Justice is in one scale, and self-preservation in the other."

These were the sentiments which dominated the thought and purpose of every great Southern statesman who distinguished himself in the constructive work of framing American institutions —the sentiments which ennobled the lives and inspired the hopes of thousands of cultivated families throughout the entire South, as the history of the period makes perfectly clear. One needs but to turn to the proud record of Colonial and revolutionary Virginia to see that her representative statesmen did everything that mortal men could do to abate the evils, to prevent the increase, and to prepare the way for the abolition of slavery. And it is in the records of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 that we shall now see how these efforts were frustrated by a "guilty bargain," struck between Northern men intent upon Protection legislation and Southern men intent upon perpetuating and extending slavery. For it was in the Constitutional Convention that the Republican and Democratic parties as they exist today

had their beginnings; it was there that the North and the South were arrayed in needless sectional antagonism; and it was there that we see George Mason winning immortality as the resplendent champion of liberty and Union under "government by the people;" and resolutely opposed to him was Gouverneur Morris, the able and too-resourceful leader of the party of aristocratic rule and legislative privilege.

Rising in that Convention to protest against the proposal to permit Georgia and South Carolina *alone* to import slaves for a period of twenty years, until 1808, Mason said:

"This infernal traffic originated in the avarice of British merchants. The British Government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to it. The present question concerns not the importing States alone, but *the whole Union.* The evil of having slaves was experienced during the late war. Had slaves been treated as they might have been by the enemy, they would have proved dangerous instruments in their hands. But their folly dealt by the slaves as it did by the Tories. He mentioned the dangerous insurrection of the slaves in Greece and Sicily; and the instructions given by Cromwell to the commissioners sent to Virginia, to arm the servants and slaves in case other means of obtaining its submission should fail. Maryland and Virginia, he said, had already prohibited the importation of slaves expressly—North Carolina had done the same in substance. All this would be vain, if South Carolina and Georgia be at liberty to import. *The Western people are already calling out for slaves for their new lands;* and will fill that country with slaves, if they can be got through South Carolina and Georgia. Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. They prevent the emigration of the whites, who really enrich and strengthen a country. They produce the most pernicious effect on manners. Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgement of heaven on a country. *As nations cannot be reward-*

ed or punished in the next world, they must be in this. By an inevitable chain of causes and effects, Providence punishes national sins by national calamities. He lamented that some of our Eastern brethren had, from a lust of gain, embarked in this nefarious traffic. As to the States being in possession of the right to import, this was the case with many other rights, now to be properly given up. He held it essential in every point of view, that the general government should have power to prevent the increase of slavery."

Gouverneur Morris, seconding the proposal that the whole subject, including navigation laws and export and import taxes, be referred to a committee, said: "*These things may form a bargain among the Northern and Southern States.*"* The committee was duly appointed; it was composed of one member from each state; Madison, instead of Mason, was selected to represent Virginia; and it was this committee which struck a pocket-interest bargain—the most infamous and awful in all American history, as we shall soon see!

Early in the Convention it had developed that a majority of the Northern delegates were strongly in favor of Protection legislation, for the benefit of their shipping and manufacturing interests; while a minority of the Southern delegates insisted upon the right to continue the importation of slaves. It was soon agreed, however, that a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress should be prescribed for the passage of commercial and navigation laws—thus necessitating the assent of *at least some of the Southern states* in all tariff legislation; and it was further agreed that the importation of slaves should be regulated by Con-

*Madison's Journal of the Constitutional Convention, page 583.

gress—which was in effect a prohibition of the sinful traffic, since an overwhelming majority of the people, South as well as North, desired to end the horrors of the African slave trade, and thus check unnatural increase in the number of the slaves. These early decisions stood for three months—throughout the greater part of the entire session of the Convention. Towards the close of the great work, however, it was Mr. Morris and the carefully selected committee who struck this bargain: that South Carolina and Georgia ALONE should have the right to import slaves for twenty years, until 1808, in return for which their votes in the Convention were to be cast in favor of A SIMPLE MAJORITY VOTE in Congress to pass all tariff and navigation laws.

When the report of this committee came up for debate Pinckney, of South Carolina, offered the following resolution in opposition:

"That no act of the legislature for the purpose of regulating the commerce of the United States with foreign powers, among the several states, shall be passed without the assent of TWO-THIRDS OF THE MEMBERS OF EACH HOUSE."

Speaking directly to this question George Mason said:

"If the government is to be lasting, it must be founded in the confidence and affections of the people; and must be so constructed as to obtain these. The *majority* will be governed by their interests. The Southern States are the *minority* in both Houses. Is it to be expected that they will deliver themselves bound, hand and foot, to the Eastern States, and enable them to exclaim, in the words of Cromwell, on a certain occasion—'the Lord hath delivered them into our hands?'"

In reply, Morris made this speech—of awful omen—and the record comes down to us in Madison's Journal, page 627:

"Gouverneur Morris opposed the object of the motion as highly injurious. Preferences to American ships will multiply them, till they carry the Southern produce cheaper than it is now carried. A navy was essential to security, particularly of the Southern States; and *can only be had* by a navigation act encouraging American bottoms and seamen. In those points of view, then, alone, it is the interest of the Southern States that Navigation Acts should be facilitated. Shipping, he said, was the worst and most precarious kind of property, and *stood in need of public patronage.*"

Thus we seen the identical logic which was lately employed in the United States Senate in the effort to force through Congress a ship subsidy bill—for the special benefit of the shipping combine!

Morris reasoned precisely as the Tory statesmen of Britain then reasoned—simply borrowed the logic which afflicted the British people for generations with all the enormities of Tory Protection and Tory navigation acts. Adam Smith, "the father of political economy," declared that such legislation was "a manifest violation of the rights of mankind;" and all the world now knows that it was the repeal of her navigation laws and her stupid Protection legislation, that enabled "Britannia to rule the waves" and made her the richest and most powerful nation of all Europe. But to resume our Convention story:

In 1788 Luther Martin, one of the delegates from Maryland, gave this account of the efforts made by himself, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, and others who were co-operating with Mason in the effort to undo the "bargain:"

"Some time in the month of August (1787), a number of members who considered the system, as then under consideration and likely to be adopted, extremely exceptionable, and of a tendency to destroy the rights and liberties of the United States—thought it advisable to meet together in the evenings, in order to have a communication of sentiments, and to concert a plan of conventional opposition to, and amendment of, that system, so as, if possible, to render it less dangerous. Mr. Gerry was the first who proposed this measure to me, and that before any meeting had taken place, and wished we might assemble at my lodgings; but not having a room convenient we fixed upon another place. There Mr. Gerry and Mr. Mason did hold meetings; but with them also met the delegates from New Jersey and Connecticut, a part of the delegation from Delaware, an honorable member from South Carolina, one other from Georgia, and myself. Those were the only 'private meetings' that ever I knew or heard to be held by Mr. Gerry and Mr. Mason—meetings at which I myself attended until I left the Convention—and of which the sole object was not to aggrandize the *great* at the expense of the *small*, but to protect and preserve, if possible, *the existence and essential rights of all the States, and the liberty and freedom of their citizens.*"

In the course of his Spartan fight in the Virginia convention in June, 1788, called to adopt the Constitution, George Mason gave this brief history of the bargain:

"I will give you, to the best of my recollection, the history of that affair. This business was discussed at Philadelphia for four months, during which time the subject of commerce and navigation was often under consideration; and I assert, that eight States out of twelve, for more than three months, voted for *requiring two-thirds of the members present in each House to pass commercial and navigation laws.* If I am right, there was a great majority for requiring two-thirds of the States in this business, till a compromise took place between the Northern and Southern States; the Northern States agreeing to the temporary importation of slaves, and the Southern States conceding, in return, that navigation and commercial laws should be on the footing on which they now stand."

Patrick Henry stood staunchly beside Mason throughout the Virginia Convention, leading in most of the debate; and it is to that matchless orator's genius for clear-cut expression that we are indebted for this searching insight into the heart's core of the issue at stake:

"This government subjects everything to the Northern majority. Is there not a settled purpose to check the Southern interest? *We thus put unbounded power over our property in hands not having a common interest with us.*"

Years before, when George the Third and Lord North were plotting and planning taxation schemes—precisely as Hamilton and Morris then planned—in that historic and immortal burst of eloquence which fired the American heart to action, Henry had said this:

"In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free; if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending; if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained,—we must fight! I repeat it, sir,—we must fight! An appeal to arms, and to the God of hosts, is all that is left us."

"It is vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace, but there is no peace. The war is actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms. Our brethren are already in the field. Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!"

It is in those flashing sentences that we see the spirit of liberty; it is there that we read what Southern freemen thought and felt; it is there that we see how and why the fiery Southern leaders were able to inflame the whole South with a sense of Northern tyranny and studied injustice. And that inspiring speech, vivid in the memory of every school boy of the South, explains why Christian soldiers of resplendent type freely gave their fortunes and their lives to the defense of a cause which they deplored and resisted at the start, but in the end held dearer than all else that life could give.

On September 30th, 1792, one week before Mason's death, Jefferson visited him at his home, Gunston Hall, and this is the record of Mason's conversation as given in Jefferson's *Anas*:

"The constitution as agreed to till a fortnight before the Convention rose, was such a one as he would have set his hand and heart to. 1. The president was to be elected for seven years, then ineligible for seven years more. 2. Rotation in the Senate. 3. A vote of two-thirds on particular subjects, and expressly on that of navigation. Three New England States were constantly with us on all questions,—Rhode Island not there, and New York seldom; so that it was these three States, with the five Southern States, against Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware.

"With respect to the importation of slaves, it was left to Congress. This disturbed the two Southernmost States, who knew that Congress would immediately suppress the importation of slaves. Those two States, therefore, struck up a bargain with the three New England States, that if they would join to admit slaves for some years, the two Southernmost States would join in changing the clause which required two-thirds of the legislature in any vote. It was done. The articles were changed accordingly, and from that moment the two Southernmost States and the three Northern ones joined Pennsylvania, Jersey and Delaware, and made the majority of eight to three against us, instead of

eight to three for us, as it had been through the whole Convention. Under this coalition, the great principles of the Constitution were changed in the last days of the Convention.

"He (Mason) said he considered Hamilton as having done us more injury than Great Britain and all her fleets and armies."

In a previous chapter we have seen how Hamilton took up the work exactly where Morris had left it; how his policies quickly re-formed the two parties in determined opposition, Jefferson and Hamilton now taking the place of Mason and Morris as leaders; and how Jefferson retired from Washington's cabinet—only to be elected by the people as Vice President in 1796, when John Adams succeeded Washington as President.

In 1798 came "the moonstruck madness of the Federalists" which all-but forced us into a war against France, with the ulterior hope and aim of a British alliance; and which gave us the infamous and dangerous Alien and Sedition laws—those "palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution" which finally startled Hamilton into writing "Do not let us establish a tyranny." Then it was that Jefferson and Madison penned the famous Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions—those telling documents which met perfidy and rebellion with freemen's weapons of defense, and which ever since all traitors to the people's cause have vainly tried to misrepresent. But the effort is idle. Those resolutions were deliberately written to expose wrong-doing, *to inform the people* through the public prints—*to save the Union.* And they did their work! For as the record proves, it was the complete triumph of Jefferson and Madison over the forces of aristocratic rule

and legislative tyranny that saved the Constitution—that gave *both North and South* the reality of that liberty, Union, and security in property rights for which the patriot fathers had battled so long and so bravely.

On the other hand, in the anger and desperation of defeat, the Federal leaders began at once to plot rebellion. One needs but turn to the correspondence of Alexander Hamilton and Gouverneur Morris of New York, and the letters and speeches of Timothy Pickering, Fisher Ames and Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts—in short, one needs but turn to Appendix XXIV, and page 362, Vol. III, of Randall's Life of Jefferson, to quickly catch the drift of all the shameful work that was planning and doing in those critical years. A very few quotations will answer here:

Under date of March 27, 1798, Hamilton wrote Pickering as follows:*

"I am against going *immediately* into alliance with Great Britain. It is my opinion that her interests will insure us her co-operation to the extent of her power, and that a treaty will not secure her further. On the other hand, a treaty might entangle us. Public opinion is not prepared for it. It would not fail to be represented as to the *point to which our previous conduct was directed;* and in case of offers from France, satisfactory to us, the public faith might be embarrassed by the calls of the people for accommodation and peace.

"The desideratum is, that Britain could be engaged to lodge with her *minister here,* powers commensurate with such arrangements as exigencies may require, and the progress of opinion permit. I see no good objection on her part to this plan.

"It would be good policy in her to send to this country a dozen frigates, to pursue the directions of this government."

In plain English, this letter meant, do not let

*Hamilton's Works, Vol. VI, page 278.

us form an *open* alliance with Britain *now*—because the American people would not stand it; but let us instead form a *secret* alliance; and then let Britain send us a dozen frigates to aid in the work of subduing these crazy American Jacobins and democrats.

On page 323 of Mr. President Roosevelt's biography of Gouverneur Morris, I find this faithful record of the political situation of that day:

"The parties hated each other with rancorous virulence; the newspapers teemed with the foulest abuse of public men, accusations were rife, Washington himself not being spared, and the most scurrilous personalities were bandied about between the different editors. The Federalists were split into two factions, one following the President, Adams, in his efforts to keep peace with France, if it could be done with honor, while the others, *under Hamilton's lead, wished war at once.*"

Then a little further along, on page 329, Mr. Roosevelt gives us this illuminating piece of information as to Hamilton's inner mind and methods:

"Hamilton, stung to madness by the defeat (of the Federalists in 1800), and sincerely believing that the success of his opponents would be fatal to the republic—for the two parties hated each other with a blind fury unknown to the organizations of the present day—actually proposed to Jay, the Governor (of New York), to nullify the action of the people by the aid of the old legislature, a Federalist body, which was still holding over, *although the members of its successor had been chosen.* Jay, as pure as he was brave, refused to sanction any such scheme of unworthy partisanship."

Turning now to the record of Gouverneur Morris, Mr. Roosevelt shows us something of what is at work *in his own mind* upon the subject of *majority rule.* On page 344, Mr. Roosevelt says of Morris:

"He denounced, with a fierce scorn that they richly deserve, the despicable demagogues and witless fools who teach that in all cases the voice of the majority must be implicitly obeyed, and that public men have only to carry out its will and thus 'acknowledge themselves the willing instruments of folly and vice.'"

There you have it, straight from the shoulder and strenuously put. The American people are not competent to govern themselves by majority rule. They require "statesmen," drawn from the ranks of the wealthy and "the well-born," to rule for them—to enact Protection laws contrary to the people's known will, and to *personally* decide just what Publicity we shall have as to Protection finance. A majority of the American people are not to be trusted—they may be guilty of "folly and vice." That is the way Mr. Morris, the advocate of an aristocratic Senate, reasoned a century ago; and we plainly see that it is the way Mr. Roosevelt, the biographer and President, reasons today.

After Mr. Roosevelt is retired to private life, it will be interesting to watch the development of his mind upon this subject. But we don't have to wait to see the effects of that philosophy upon Mr. Morris' mind. Here is what Mr. Roosevelt says on pages 347 and 349:

"It is a painful thing to have to record that the closing act in a great statesman's career not only compares ill with what went before, but is actually to the last degree a discreditable and unworthy performance."

"Morris' bitterness and anger against the government (under Jefferson and Madison) grew apace; and finally his hatred for the administration became such, that, to hurt it he was willing also to do irreparable harm to the nation itself. He violently opposed the various embargo acts, and all the other governmental

measures of the decade before the war; and worked himself up to such a pitch, when hostilities began, that, though one of the founders of the Constitution, though formerly one of the chief exponents of the national idea, and though once a main upholder of the Union, he abandoned every patriotic principle and became an ardent advocate of Northern secession."

"Yet, grave as these faults (of President Madison's administration) were, they were mild compared to those committed by Morris and the other ultra-Federalists of New York and New England. Morris' opposition to the war led him to the most extravagant lengths. * * * * He championed the British view of their right to impress seamen from our ships; he approved peace on the terms they offered, which included a curtailment of our Western frontier, and the erection along it of independent Indian sovereignties under British protection. * * * * He actually advocated repudiating our war debt, on the ground that it was void, being founded on a moral wrong."

Rule or ruin! So the Federalists reasoned from 1796 to 1815; so the Nullifiers reasoned from 1828 to 1832; so the Slave-power reasoned from 1860 to 1865; so the Republicans reason today, when they tell us that we shall be plunged into panic and disaster unless their lease of power be renewed. But I fancy that when we come to count the ballots in the next Presidential election, it will be found that the solid sense of the American people is still wedded to majority rule—that the danger they see and fear is not a majority vote of a free people, but the corrupt majority vote of those in Congress who betrayed the people's trust in passing the McKinley bill and the Dingley bill; and then corruptly passing a law which empowers Theodore Roosevelt to personally decide what Publicity we shall have, *or not have,* as to Trust finance.

"The executive power in our government is not the only, per-

haps not even the principal object of my solicitude. *The tyranny of the legislature* is really the danger most to be feared, and will continue to be so for many years to come."

—*Thomas Jefferson.*

But let us get back to the story—let us go on with a revelation of the record which proves that New England was first to deliberately plan a separation from the Union, and that the early advocates of aristocratic rule and Protection legislation confidently relied upon an alliance with England as one effective means of breaking-up the Union and defeating the hopes and aims of American democracy.

John Quincy Adams has left a very full and accurate history of the Hartford Convention, and Theodore Dwight, its Secretary, was finally whipped by criticism into writing a ponderous volume in explanation and defense. These two books can doubtless be found in any good public library; but if not, let me suggest that young Americans simply look for "Hartford Convention" in the card index or the standard cyclopedias. In that way they can quickly see how sectional hate, secession teaching, and deliberate plans for rebellion were the direct results of the "guilty bargain" struck in the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

It will suffice here if I simply record the fact that Governor Caleb Strong called a special session of the Massachusetts Legislature, which met in Boston October 5th, 1814, and two days later, by a vote of 260 yeas to 90 nays, adopted a resolution proposing the Convention and appointing twelve delegates to it. Rhode Island immediately

responded with the appointment of four delegates; Connecticut with seven, and New Hampshire with two. The Convention met at Hartford; it was in formal session for three weeks; it kept a secret journal; it specifically recommended steps leading to a separation from the Union should Congress refuse to comply with the demands of the New England States; and its presiding officer was none other than George Cabot, the *distinguished* grandfather of Henry Cabot Lodge, the *professional* Protectionist who shines so resplendently in the United States Senate today.

And now we shall see that the fruitful seeds of sectional hate and open rebellion were immediately carried from New England to South Carolina. For it was none other than Robert Y. Hayne, of Nullification fame, who, as early as 1816, rising in the United States Senate, had this to say of what transpired before and at the Hartford Convention:

"Let us contemplate, for a moment, the spectacle then exhibited to the view of the world. I will not go over the disasters of the war, nor describe the difficulties in which the government was involved. It will be recollected that its credit was nearly gone, Washington had fallen, the whole coast was blockaded, and an immense force collected in the West Indies was about to make a descent, which it was supposed we had no means of resisting. In this awful state of our public affairs, when the government seemed to be almost tottering on its base, when Great Britain, relieved from all her other enemies, had proclaimed her purpose of 'reducing us to unconditional submission'—we beheld the peace party in New England pursuing a course calculated to do more injury to their country and to render England more effective service than all her armies. * * * * That Convention met, and from their proceedings it appears that their chief object was to keep back the men and money of New England from the

service of the Union, and to effect radical changes in the government—changes that can never be effected without a dissolution of the Union.''

An effective satire appeared anonymously in the North at the time, and from this I take three verses:

James Madison my Jo, Jim,
We wonder what you mean,
You've disconcerted all our plans,
They vanish like a dream.
You've disconcerted all our plots,
And this the world will know,
Since *peace* has come we are undone,
James Madison, my Jo.

We swore against the war, Jim,
'Twas wicked and unjust,
Tri'd slander, lies—with British *spies*,
From office you to thrust,
But sad to state, our schemes have failed,
All vanished like the snow,
While we're disrac'd, still Jim is plac'd
In Washington, my Jo.

James Madison my Jo, Jim,
We all of us relent,
And of our sins and *treachery*,
Sincerely do repent;
And if you'll now receive us, Jim,
The world it soon shall know
We all of us will cease to curse
James Madison, my Jo.

Now, in contrast with this disunion record of those who believed the people unfit to rule, let us observe the attitude of the opposing leaders. Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts was the one man who stood true to Mason's leadership in the Con-

vention of 1787, for, like Mason, he flatly refused to sign the Constitution as originally adopted. In that immovable resolution these two men gave their names, and the proud record of their work, to immortal history! For that Convention in Philadelphia was the very apex of liberty's age-long struggle for federated and representative government by the people; and in their uncompromising convictions, in their marvellous foresight into the future, Mason and Gerry had the courage to separate themselves from all their fellows—had the genius to prove themselves prophets among men! For the solemn sense of conscious responsibility which prompted their heroic action, is handed down to us in this extract from a letter which Mason wrote to his eldest son and namesake, under date of June 1st, 1787:

"When I first came here, judging from casual conversations with gentlemen from the different States, I was very apprehensive that, soured and disgusted with the unexpected evils we had experienced from the democratic principles of our governments, we should be apt to run into the opposite extreme, and in endeavoring to steer too far from Scylla, we might be drawn into the vortex of Charybdis, of which I still think there is some danger, though I have the pleasure to find in the convention many men of fine republican principles. America has certainly, upon this occasion, drawn forth her first characters; there are upon this Convention many gentlemen of the most respectable abilities, and so far as I can discover, of the purest intentions. The eyes of the United States are turned upon this assembly, and their expectations raised to a very anxious degree.

"May God grant we may be able to gratify them, by establishing a wise and just government. For my own part, I never before felt myself in such a situation; and declare I would not, upon pecuniary motives, serve in this convention for a thousand pounds per day. The revolt from Great Britain and the formations of our new governments at that time, were nothing com-

pared to the great business now before us: there was then a certain degree of enthusiasm, which inspired and supported the mind; *but to view, through the calm, sedate medium of reason the influence which the establishment now proposed may have, upon the happiness or misery of millions yet unborn, is an object of such magnitude as absorbs, and in a manner suspends, the operations of the human understanding.*"

Elbridge Gerry had been elected Governor of Massachusetts in 1811, and in his inaugural address he denounced the doctrines of the rebellious Federalists as "seditious." But the Democratic State legislature, then sitting denounced the men as "inceptive traitors" and "domestic partisans of a foreign power." Jefferson was in retirement at Monticello, watching events with anxious care as the danger of war drew close, and under date of June 11th, 1812, he wrote Governor Gerry this letter of calm and wise counsel:

"What, then, does this English faction with you mean? Their newspapers say rebellion, and that they will not remain united with us unless we will permit them TO GOVERN THE MAJORITY. If this be their purpose, their anti-republican spirit, it ought to be met at once. But a government like ours should be slow in believing this, should put forth its whole might when necessary to suppress it, and promptly return to the paths of reconciliation. The extent of our country secures it, I hope, from the vindictive passions of the petty incorporations of Greece. * * * *

"But I trust that such a perverseness will not be that of the honest and well-meaning mass of the Federalists of Massachusetts; and that when the questions of separation and rebellion shall be nakedly proposed to them, the Gores and the Pickerings will find their levees crowded with silk-stocking gentry, but no yeomanry; an army of officers without soldiers. I hope, then, all will still end well; the Anglomen will consent to make peace with their bread and butter, and you and I shall sink to rest, without having been actors or spectators in another civil war. * * * *

"We have not timed these things well together, or we might

have begun a re-alliance between Massachusetts and the Old Dominion, faithful companions in the war of Independence, peculiarly tallied to interests, by each wanting exactly what the other has to spare; and estranged to each other, in latter times, only by the practices of a third nation, the common enemy of both. Let us live only to see this re-union, and I will say with old Simeon, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.' In that peace may you long remain, my friend, and depart only in the fullness of years, all passed in health and prosperity. God bless you."

In the preceding chapter we have seen how Andrew Jackson's genius and bravery won for the people the second great victory over rebellion, paternalism, Protection, and monopoly; and thus we come to the formative era which gave us Lincoln as the great leader of the party of freedom.

Writing of the period which led up to the formation of the Republican party, Dr. John Fiske, in his essay on "Harrison, Tyler and the Whig Coalition" says what follows; and I am entirely sure that freemen, who are not too busy with money-getting to read and think for their children and their children's children, will profit by closely studying its every word:

"In 1844, the presidential platform of the Whigs was careful to make no allusion whatever to the bank. On this crucial question the doctrines of paternal government had received a crushing and permanent defeat. In the next session of Congress the strife with the President (Tyler) was renewed, but it was now tariff, not bank, that furnished the subject of discussion. The lowering of duties by the compromise tariff of 1833 had now diminished the revenue until it was insufficient to meet the expenses of government. The Whigs accordingly carried through Congress a bill continuing the protective duties of 1833, and providing that the surplus revenue, which was thus sure soon to accumulate, should be distributed among the states. But the compromise act of 1833, in which Mr.

Tyler had played an important part, had provided that the protective policy should come to an end in 1842. Both on this ground, and because of the provisions for distributing the surplus, the President vetoed the new bill. Congress then devised and passed another bill, providing for a tariff "for revenue, with incidental protection," but still contemplating a distribution of the surplus if there should be any. The President vetoed this bill. Congress received the veto message with indignation, and on the motion of John Quincy Adams it was referred to a committee, which condemned it as an unwarrantable assumption of power, and after a caustic summary of Mr. Tyler's acts since his accession to office, concluded with a reference to impeachment. This report called forth from the President a formal protest; but the victory was already his. The Whigs were afraid to go before the country in the autumn elections with the tariff question unsettled, and the bill was accordingly passed by both houses without the distributing clause, and was at once signed by the President. As a parting menace, the distributing clause was then passed in a separate bill, but a "pocket veto" sufficed to dispose of it. Congress adjourned August 31, 1842, and in the autumn elections the Whig majority of 25 in the House of Representatives gave place to a Democratic majority of 61.

"Here our story must for the present stop, *with the total overthrow of the Whig doctrines of paternal government.* As the net result of twenty years of political experience, since the election of John Quincy Adams had raised new political issues, we find the Whig theory everywhere discomfited. The bank was too completely dead to find any mourners. *The protective tariff was reduced to such a point that we were abreast with England in the march toward free trade, and our foreign commerce was beginning to rival that of England,* when the Civil War and its war taxes set us back for a while. At the same time the policy of internal improvements remained, as it still remains, on the defensive. Viewed in its large relations, it was a noble victory for *the sound Democratic doctrine* of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

"Between 1850 and 1860 many of the best and most vigorous elements in the old Democratic party of Jackson and Van Buren had gone over to the new Republican party; just as since 1876 we have seen many of the most characteristic elements of the old Republican party of Lincoln and Sumner going over to the

Democrats. Whatever may be the merits of the Republican party of today, *it is no more the party of Lincoln and Sumner than the Federalist party of 1812 was the party of Hamilton and John Adams.* Just so with the Democratic party forty years ago. By the subtraction of its original leaders, the Democratic party of Pierce and Buchanan came to be something quite different from the Democratic party of Jackson and Van Buren. *It came to be a mere servant of the slave power.*

"The danger which menaces the Republican party today is the danger that *it may fall under the control of monopolists.* Should it turn out to be so, the history of American politics points to the probable result. That history shows with clearness how moderately the evolution of society goes on where the popular will finds unhampered expression. *When political parties go in quest of strange gods we cast them forth into outer darkness, and go on our way rejoicing.* It is well that this is so, for so long as this can be done, we may be sure that we are a free people."

Now if ambitious young men of this day will turn to any one of the excellent political almanacs issued by the newspapers, they will observe that in the Presidential contests of 1844, 1848 and 1852, a variety of candidates were presented at each election; and then turning to the names of these parties and candidates in any standard cyclopedia available in the public libraries, they can get, within an hour or two of reading, a very clear idea of the differing principles for which these factions were contending. I strongly recommend this line of personal inquiry, instead of giving the facts here, because it is vitally necessary that young Americans now begin in dead earnest to read and think for themselves. We live under free institutions. We live under absolute rule of the majority of our voters. We have it in our power, by majority vote at the ballot box, not only to defeat all the deep schemes of the Wall

Street millionaires, but to render public men powerless and contemptible when they have the effrontery to advocate legislation for the benefit of *any special class,* at the expense of the whole people. And such reading is infinitely important now, for in the contest which lies dead ahead of us there will be pressing need for young men of ardor, enthusiasm, and conviction, to answer captious criticism, to call political historians to account, and to do the active work that will be waiting in every voting precinct and primary throughout the entire Union.

It will be sufficient, therefore, if I simply say here, that when the Presidential election of 1856 approached, all the anti-slavery factions coalesced in the national Convention at Philadelphia which nominated for President General John C. Fremont, the brave soldier and explorer who conquered and gave us California. And the platform of principles which they adopted was, word for word, exactly what follows:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

NATIONAL CONVENTION HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 17, 1856.

The Convention of Delegates, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present Administration, to the extension of Slavery into Free Territory; in favor of admitting Kansas as a Free State; of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson, and who purpose to unite in presenting candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, do resolve as follows:

Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated

in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and Union of the States, shall be preserved.

Resolved, That with our Republican fathers we hold it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed with the inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior designs of our federal government were, to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction; that, as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in any territory of the United States, by positive legislation, prohibiting the existence or extension therein. That we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States, while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery.

Resolved, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, and secure the blessings of liberty, and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them—their territory has been invaded by an armed force—spurious and pretended legislative, judicial and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the Government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced—the rights of the people to keep and bear arms have been infringed—test oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed, as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office—the right of an accused person to a speedy and

public trial by an impartial jury has been denied—the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures has been violated—they have been deprived of life, liberty and property without due course of law—that the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged—the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect—murders, robberies and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished—that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction and procurement of the present administration, and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union and Humanity, we arraign the Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists and accessories, either before or after the facts, before the country and before the world, and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages, and their accomplices, to a sure and condign punishment hereafter.

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union, with her present free Constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in her territory.

Resolved, That the highwaymen's plea, that "might makes right," embodied in the Ostend Circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any government or people that gave it their sanction.

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, by the most central and practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction, and, as an auxiliary thereto, the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligation of government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of freemen of all parties, in support of the principles herein declared; and, believing that the spirit of our institutions, as well

as the Constitution of our country, guarantee liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing security.

There we see the true principles of the Republican party! There we see the declaration of freemen who knew what they wanted, who said what they thought, and who meant exactly what they said. And for us of this generation, the point of superlative importance is to observe that *not one word was said in advocacy of Protection.* For when that platform was written the "Free Trade Tariff" of 1846 had given us such a boom of prosperity that our manufacturers were flourishing as never before; the American Clippers were sailing the seas in the service of the greatest foreign trade we had ever known; and Protection had been discarded in America, as it was forever dead in England. Upon this platform the new party of freedom went before the people, and this was the result:

Candidates for President.	State	Party	Popular Vote.	Electoral Vote.
James Buchanan	Pa.	Dem.	1,838,169	174
John C. Fremont	Cal.	Rep.	1,341,264	114
Millard Fillmore	N. Y.	Amer.	874,538	8

That was enough to show the politicians what was coming. That was enough to show that the slave-power had doomed the old Democratic party; and the vote for Fillmore was enough to prove that religious bigotry and narrow national prejudice would never be tolerated by the American people. Everybody could see that a vast majority of those who had voted for Fillmore would certainly join the new party at the next election;

that the Northern and Southern wings of the old Democratic party were certain to part company; and thus the result plainly foretold that the great party of freedom, reasserting the principles of the fathers, was inevitably destined to rule the Republic.

And fortunately we have from Lincoln himself a clear and definite statement of his position on the tariff question at that time. On October 11th, 1859, writing to a friend who had asked for a public declaration of his tariff views, Lincoln frankly explained that he had always been a Henry Clay Whig, and had not changed his personal views on the tariff question; but with unerring discretion, and fairness to the new party, he went on to say:*

"It is my opinion, that, just now, the revival of that question will not advance the cause itself, or the man who revives it.

"We, the old Whigs, *have been entirely beaten on the tariff question;* and we shall not be able to re-establish the policy until the absence of it shall have demonstrated the necessity for it in the minds of men heretofore opposed to it. With this view, I should prefer to not now write a public letter upon the subject."

But unlike Lincoln, and contrary to his prudent advice, we shall now see how the Protection schemers renewed their plots and adroitly fastened themselves upon the new party—precisely as Hamilton and Morris had done in early days,—precisely as the Protection leaders in our day have betrayed the people's interests and used our sound money victories as a pretext for the tariff enormities of the McKinley bill and the Dingley bill.

One needs but turn to the Republican platform

*Lamon's Life of Lincoln, page 423.

of 1860 to read a confident reassertion of the fundamental principles presented in the first platform. It distinctly recognized the rights of the States with regard to their domestic institutions; it denounced the threats of secession which were then current; took strong ground as the party of the Union; emphasized its opposition to the alienation of our public lands to any but *actual settlers* under the Homestead Act; and far down, in the twelfth clause, was presented this shrewdly worded, covert, and plausible declaration:

"That, while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence."

Here we see Hamilton and Morris, long dead, but still living in the pernicious doctrines they had taught, in the sin-breeding methods they employed to fasten upon the people a system which the people had flatly repudiated.

Here we see Mason, Gerry and Henry, long dead, yet still living in the prudent, patriotic, and prophetic words in which they foretold the awful consequences certain to follow upon the heels of the "guilty bargain" of 1787.

Here we see the very torch with which the flames of rebellion were now lighted—for it was this fatal declaration for Protection to Northern manufacturers that enabled the fiery Southern

leaders to hark back to the Hartford Convention and the "Tariff of Abominations;" to inflame the whole South by charging—and proving by the record—that the Protection North was intent upon enriching itself at the direct and heavy expense of the Free Trade South; and that, as inevitably as fate, the next move of the triumphant MAJORITY in Congress would be to destroy Southern property in plantations and slaves by confiscating Four Hundred Millions of Dollars (Lincoln's estimate) in personal property through emancipation without compensation—precisely as proposed by the abolitionists of New England. And historic proof of this lies in the awful fact that the Morrill bill passed the Senate February 20th, 1861, was approved by President Buchanan March 2d, to take effect April 1st—and Sumter was fired on April 14th!

Now let us reverse the positions.

It was the Embargo of Madison's time that touched New England's sensitive pocket-nerve—that *temporarily* cut-off her profits on foreign trade and tied many of her ships in idleness at the docks. Instantly her leaders planned rebellion; then called the Hartford Convention; and meanwhile secretly moved for an alliance with the formidable enemy WITH WHOM WE WERE THEN AT WAR! And at that time, bear in mind, slavery existed, and slave property was still recognized in New England, precisely as it was recognized in the South.

Let us now suppose that up to 1860 slavery had continued to be profitable in New England; and that through two centuries of time her people had

been steadily building a proud, prosperous, cultivated, and Christian civilization, with slave labor as the very basis of all her industries. Then let us suppose that a Southern majority in Congress had actually captured the Presidency and enacted a tariff law to enrich the South at the direct expense of the North; and beyond that, a formidable group of Southern reformers were aggressively preaching, openly proposing, and defiantly boasting control of the party which had power to enact a law and enforce a demand that New England should overturn her whole industrial system, and New England people should individually sacrifice, without one penny of compensation, Four Hundred Millions of Dollars in slave property. What would have been the answer?

This, and this only, would have been the answer:.

> "We must fight! I repeat it, Sir—we must fight! An appeal to arms, and to the God of hosts, is all that is left us."

It was this that Lincoln knew and felt; it was this that saddened the eyes and deepened the furrows of his rugged and care-worn countenance; and this is why he first solemnly pledged himself to protect the property rights of the Southern people, and then, throughout a raging storm of abuse from Northern abolitionists, bravely stood to the faith he had plighted until the power of the Southern armies drove him to the necessity for Emancipation without compensation as the only possible means of saving the Union.

I am well aware that it is the complaisant habit of these times to refer to the Civil War as "the

inevitable conflict''—the calamity which had to be. But this is a mere begging of the question—a contemptible surrender to that weariness of the human mind which prompts it to find solace in the dream that ''whatever is, is right.'' Witness China, India, and the entire East—excepting proud little Japan! Witness the stupor of intellectual resignation which in Russia still holds more than one hundred millions of the Caucasian race in the grip of political despotism. Witness *the indifference of the American people to Mr. Roosevelt's assumption of despotic power over our corporation and Trust finance.*

No, no; it is thus that oppressed people reason—thus that tyranny takes hold; and thus that tyranny rules. The Civil War was inevitable only because godless pocket-interest made it so. The student of American history needs only to look back at the record to see that had wise old George Mason's solemn and insistent warning been heeded, the tariff enormities from which we have suffered so sorely would never have been possible. Moderation and fairness, in both Houses of Congress, would have been absolutely necessary to secure a two-thirds vote in favor of any kind of Protection legislation. The rank injustice of the ''Tariff of Abominations''—for the exclusive benefit of the North—could never have been enacted; and hence the Nullification rebellion and the Morrill bill could never have come, with their awful proof of Northern selfishness and tyranny, to inflame the Southern heart and mind with teaching and convictions which led straight on to the horrors of the Civil War.

And if we had had no Hartford Convention, no Tariff of Abominations, no Nullification rebellion, and no Morrill bill to prepare the way for Civil War, Slavery would surely, without the shadow of a doubt, have been abolished by peaceable and legal means, with fair compensation to the slave-owners—as Lincoln proposed, and as before and since it has been abolished in other parts of the world. Lincoln's election was indeed the first great victory for peaceable emancipation; and but for the Protection record of the North, but for the blind, sectional and tyrannous confiscation proposals of New England abolitionists, the fiery Southern leaders could never by any possibility have lashed the Southern people into armed rebellion.

So, in our day, the McKinley bill could never have been passed—for to get a bare majority vote in its favor the Protection schemers struck a "guilty bargain" with the silver miners of the West! *They passed the Sherman Silver Coinage Law; they gave us the silver craze; and they scourged us with the most prolonged and desperate panic that we have ever known.*

And the Dingley bill, that monstrous measure of political perfidy, in open betrayal of the people's known will—that Mother of Trusts, which has created Four Billions of Dollars in legalized watered stocks for the millionaires—that iniquitous measure of indirection and deceit which has filched the hard earnings and scant savings of every man, woman and child in America—all the shameless outrages of that Protection infamy

would have been impossible had a simple two-thirds vote in Senate and House been necessary to its passage.

Thus, at this late day, looking back over more than a century of history, and briefly summarizing the lessons of awful experience, we can plainly see that the "guilty bargain" of 1787 sowed the seeds of that sectional antagonism of interests which immediately bore foul fruit in the sectional hate and sectional strife that led to the Hartford Convention. It was that "bargain" which cursed us with full twenty years more of the hideous horrors of the African slave trade, so vividly pictured in all its frightfulness by Mr. John R. Spears, in his recent book entitled "The American Slave Trade." It was that pocket-interest "bargain" that gave us the "Tariff of Abominations" and the Nullification rebellion. It was that unspeakable "bargain" that led straight on, step by step, to the horrors of a Civil War the most frightful of recorded history. And finally, it was that accursed "bargain"—between moneyed aristocrats at the North and slave-holding aristocrats at the South—that has now culminated in combinations of wealth and power which array the rich in solid phalanx of opposition to every move in the people's interest; which has forced upon millions of free-born Americans a slavery and degradation beside which negro slavery was irresponsible and child-like happiness; and which would again menace our free institutions were it not for the sturdy patience, the manly self-control, and the dauntless moral courage of a great, free people, unalterably pledged to the principles

of peace, justice, and EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW, which the fathers wrote into our Constitution.

Truth forever on the scaffold,
Wrong forever on the throne.
But that scaffold sways the future,
And behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow
Keeping watch upon His own.
—*James Russell Lowell.*

The proudest heritage that I own is the record that my father fought four years in defense of Lincoln's principles—in defense of the Union which he knew was above price to posterity! But I have lived to read, and think, and travel; I have followed a settled purpose to find the truth, and to write it fearlessly; I have made a business of studying European institutions in comparison with our own, and in contrasting the American present with the American past; and thus I have come to see—precisely what our fathers and grandfathers before us saw—that in thought, in principle, and in patriotic purpose, Lincoln was a Jeffersonian Democrat in convictions, and absolutely one with Jefferson and Jackson. The proof of this is so clear that no man need go astray, for in that immortal message that he gave to all mankind from the battle-field of Gettysburg, this is what Lincoln said:

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new Nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that Nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war.

We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that Nation might live.

"It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this Nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom—and that GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE BY THE PEOPLE AND FOR THE PEOPLE shall not perish from the earth."

So, in almost the last letter that Jackson penned for the public prints, in 1844, replying openly to a tirade of New England abuse of the South, Andrew Jackson said this:

"Instead of going to British history for sentiments worthy of the republican youth of our country, I would recommend those in General Washington's farewell address, and particularly his warning us to avoid entangling alliances with foreign nations, and *whatever is calculated to create sectional or geographical parties at home.*"

So, throughout his whole life, Jefferson wrote and planned and labored to teach that:

"We shall never give up our Union, the last anchor of our hope, and that alone which is to prevent this heavenly country from becoming an arena of gladiators.

"We ought for so dear a stake to sacrifice every attachment, every enmity."

These brief extracts, coupled with the life-long work of those who penned them, make it perfectly evident that in heart, in soul, and in unbending purpose, the three men held true to identically the same opposition to disunion, identically the same

view of Constitutional property rights, and identically the same fundamental faith in "government of the people by the people and for the people."

And in the light of their example and their teaching, what is now the duty of patriot soldiers who fought for the Union, of conscience Republicans who believe in Lincoln's principles?

I have no fear of the answer that is coming!

THE CAUSE OF PANICS—THE MONEY QUESTION.

"You will see that we are completely saddled and bridled, and that the Bank is so firmly mounted on us that we must go where they will guide." —*Thomas Jefferson in 1792.*

"The nation is at this time so strong and united in its sentiments, that it cannot be shaken at this moment. But suppose a series of untoward events should occur, sufficient to bring into doubt the competency of a Republican government to meet a crisis of great danger, or to unhinge the confidence of the people in the public functionaries; an institution like this (Bank of the United States), penetrating by its branches every part of the Union, acting by command and in phalanx, may, in a critical moment, upset the government. I deem no government safe which is under the vassalage of any self-constituted authorities, or any other authority than that of the nation, or its regular functionaries." —*Thomas Jefferson in 1809.*

"The unlimited emission of bank paper has banished all her (England's) specie, and is now, by a depreciation acknowledged by her own statesmen, carrying her rapidly to bankruptcy as it did France, as it did us, and will do us again, and every country permitting paper to be circulated other than that by public authority rigorously limited to the just measure of circulation."
—*Thomas Jefferson in 1813.*

Chapter VIII.

Four wars have been made necessary to prove our nationality—The war of the Revolution, which, with France's timely and needed aid, gave us Independence; the war of 1812, which proved that we were quite strong enough to stand alone; the war of 1861-65, which made an end of negro slavery and secession; and the recent war with

Spain, which opened our eyes, and the eyes of all Europe, to the power and importance of the great Republic in the world-family of Nations.

In the light of this bloody experience, I fancy there are few who will question that we are forever done with the ages-old fear of The Man on Horseback. For Washington, Jackson, Grant, and Dewey—eternal honor to their patriot names!—have taught us exactly how to employ our armies and navies in defense of our dearly bought liberties; and there is not the remotest prospect that American freemen will ever forget the precious heritage of instruction in the military art which they have left us.

In like manner, four wretched panics have been rendered necessary to teach us in the school of awful experience that it is impossible to make something out of nothing—to teach us over and over again the sorry lesson that our fathers learned through blood sacrifice in the Revolution. For one needs but to turn to the histories of our Revolutionary era to see plainly that the rock upon which our heroic struggle for Independence was almost wrecked, was that of paper money—manufactured wholesale by printing presses, first in every colony, and later by the Continental Congress. Continental currency became absolutely worthless, alike to our soldiers, our merchants, and our bankers; and the heritage of that awful period has come down to us in the familiar adage "Not worth a Continental"—a phrase which tells the whole story in a single sentence.

It was because of that bitter and terrible experience—because irredeemable paper money abso-

lutely destroyed public credit and paralyzed domestic commerce—that in penning and adopting the Constitution our fathers wisely limited the national government to the sole power of COINING money; and here is the exact wording of this limitation:

"To *coin* money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign *coin;* and to fix the standard of weights and measures."

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

By this they meant specifically, as overwhelming contemporary evidence gives proof, that our only legal money should be real money—the actual coin, with its weight and value plainly stamped upon the face.

"Like a dropsical man calling for water, water, our deluded citizens are clamoring for more banks, more banks. The American mind is now in that state of fever which the world has so often seen in the history of other nations. We are under the bank bubble, as England was under the South Sea bubble, France under the Mississippi bubble, and as every nation is liable to be under whatever bubble, design or delusion may puff up in moments when off their guard. We are now taught to believe that legerdemain tricks upon paper can produce as solid wealth as hard labor in the earth. It is vain for common sense to urge that nothing can produce but nothing; that it is an idle dream to believe in a philosopher's stone which is to turn everything into gold, and to redeem man from the original sentence of his Maker, 'in the sweat of his brow shall he eat his bread.'"

—*Thomas Jefferson in 1816.*

The money question is so involved in mystery; there are, apparently, so many different kinds of money; and fear, avarice, and ignorance have made such a mess of financial terms and techni-

calities, that most men despair of ever being able to understand the problem. But our recent experience with the money question is so vivid in recollection and so vital in teaching, that I think it will now be possible to make the subject plain as a, b, c,—if we simply strip the discussion of all technical terms and appeal directly to common sense.

"We have been busy with the critique of reason. I should like to see a critique of common sense. It would be a real benefit to mankind if we could convincingly prove to the ordinary intelligence how far it can go." —*Goethe.*

It is in the school of experience that we learn life's lasting lessons; and since my personal experience undoubtedly tallies with the personal experience of tens of thousands of intelligent Americans who have lived through the panics of 1873 and 1893-96, I shall now endeavor to simplify the subject by telling, as a narrative, precisely how I learned what I know of the money question.

Just about the first thing I learned when I began to think, as a boy of twelve in a public school in the Southwest, was that "action and reaction are equal," and we can never have an effect without a cause. That started me in the fixed habit of invariably looking for causes when I was puzzled by effects.

The great panic of 1873 is the most memorable event of my boyhood and youth. It was that panic which, in the fall of 1873, suddenly threw me out of a happy job on the field corps then locating the Shenandoah Valley railroad; upset

all my boyhood hopes and plans for becoming a civil engineer; tumbled me into a newspaper office under a six months' contract for twelve hours work daily at four dollars per week; appalled my youthful imagination with the horrors of free soup houses for hungry and helpless men, women and children—a thing I had never seen or heard of before; and started me to thinking deeply about what could possibly cause such unwelcome, widespread, and awful disaster. I have been thinking and hunting for that cause ever since; and for nearly thirty years past, I have been closely watching and intently studying the seamy side of that prosperity and greatness which our politicians and promoters boast so loudly.

In the fall of 1874, when the greenback craze was at its height, I heard General Thomas Ewing make an open-air speech to workingmen in explanation of the greenback theory; and to this day it stands out in memory as the most impressive and convincing political argument to which I have ever listened. It was a cool, beautiful, moonlight night; a little scaffolding of rough new boards had been set-up against the brick wall of an idle glass factory; and two smoky oil torches flickered on either side of the speaker, standing alone on the platform. He was a very large man, simply attired in a cutaway suit of brownish cloth; surmounting the deep chest and broad shoulders was a massive head, crowned with curly brown locks; the voice was clear, strong and resonant, reaching to the farthest limits of the great crowd assembled; the manner

was deliberate, earnest and profoundly impressive; every utterance came straight from a heart that pulsed with manly emotion; every feature of the strong face portrayed fearless and dauntless conviction; and for more than an hour he held his vast audience spellbound in the mastery of his thought and speech and irresistible logic. Then and there he taught me that money is the life blood of our Nation's commerce and industry; that money is the one measure of all other values; and that if the volume of money be suddenly, forcibly, or unnaturally contracted—then wages, salaries, prices and all property values are certain to decline. Boy as I was, untrained in economic studies and experience, it is needless to say that he further convinced me, as he convinced thousands of others, in those times, that the Grand Old Party, for which he fought, had been captured by shrewd moneyed men, who were then deliberately retiring the greenbacks that they might force wages down, depreciate all market prices and property values, and, especially, make Government bonds and all private debts payable in gold instead of greenbacks—"the money of the people." And the certain and sure remedy which he proposed to cure all our ills was that, instead of retiring the greenbacks, we should issue more of them—issue enough to give us prosperity and happiness in place of idle factories and free soup houses to feed men who were able and willing to work, but could find no work to do.

Shortly afterwards I heard Senator Allan G. Thurman, "the noble old Roman," make a simi-

lar address; then I read a convincing speech by Senator George H. Pendleton, the courtly and charming gentleman who came so near capturing the Democratic nomination for President; and finally, my greenback education was completed by a sledge-hammer speech in print from that hard-headed old Scotchman Senator James B. Beck, who had been a neighbor and friend of my grandfather in Kentucky.

Thus it was that I came to look upon John Sherman's resumption of specie payments as the tap-root of all our difficulties; and in 1876 when Tilden and Hendricks were nominated without an indorsement of the greenback program, I accounted it a sore calamity. But I saw all my leaders wheeling into line; I saw that Credit Mobilier, the Star Route frauds and "the whisky ring" had made Reform the supreme issue; and so I heartily joined the Democratic party, marched in the torchlight processions, gloried in the certain prospect of winning, and felt confident that after the victory we could and would save the country from the calamity of actual resumption of specie payments.

When the Republicans deliberately euchred Tilden out of his election through the 8 to 7 trick in Congress, I was not only hot with indignation, but I confidently looked for another panic in 1879—as the greenback leaders had predicted.

Then it was that my eyes were opened!

For when the resumption of specie payments actually came in 1879, and I saw greenbacks, bank notes, and all kinds of paper and silver money on a par with gold—instead of a panic, I

was utterly astonished to see the whole country launched into a perfect "boom" of prosperity! The price of iron soared sky-high; all the idle furnaces, mills and factories started up full tilt; wages advanced in every branch of industry; railroad building began again in dead earnest; "town-lot booms" in Southern and Western cities began to amaze people with the madness of the speculation; great fortunes were piled-up through the enormous advance in the market values of all kinds of stocks and bonds; and it is none other than the inevitable Carnegie who has since characterized the ten year period from 1880 to 1890 as "a decade which is probably to rank as the Golden Age of the Republic, as far as material prosperity is concerned."

The panic had come under the Morrill tariff, and it had gone under the Morrill tariff; and so I knew—as all Americans now need to remember—that the tariff had absolutely nothing to do with either the panic of 1873 or the boom of 1880-90. Knowing this, in the campaign of 1880, when I stood within ten feet of "the Plumed Knight" of the Republican hosts and heard him shouting that the tariff was the cause of our great prosperity, and that if we touched the tariff we would have another panic—I simply laughed at the political trickster. For I knew, as thousands of others well knew at the time, that Blaine was adroitly shifting the issue and deluding the people to keep John Sherman from winning the Presidency.

In short, the boom of 1880 was lesson enough for me—quite enough to dispel my youthful

dream of the possibility of creating prosperity with greenbacks. I began then to understand what Jefferson meant when he wrote: "We are now taught to believe that legerdemain tricks upon paper can produce as solid wealth as hard labor in the earth." I plainly saw that however important the volume of money might be, it was infinitely more important that all our money should be as good as the best—"as good as gold." And then, for the first time, I began to have a wholesome respect for John Sherman—who was chiefly responsible in giving us specie payments, and who had been furiously abused for his work. For however "cold" he was to the politicians, I could see, clearly enough, that his head was dead-level on the money question; because every prediction he made had now been more than fulfilled—to the utter confusion of all my greenback heroes and philosophers.

In the light of this instruction and experience, when we were plunged into the panic of 1893, the situation was so exactly parallel to what had happened before, that I marveled how men could so soon forget. Each and every step leading up to the panic of 1873 was duplicated in that of 1893; every argument presented by the advocates of the free coinage of silver had been previously employed by the greenbackers; and after the panic we were scourged by the same widespread disaster, the same wretchedness of the unemployed, and the same prolonged industrial depression. To show how true this is, let me present the familiar facts in parallel columns:

PANIC OF 1873.

Black Friday, in May, 1868, when Gould and Fisk cornered gold, spreading wreck and ruin among Wall Street brokers, and causing the gravest alarm throughout bank and commercial circles the country over. Immediately Congress began to discuss the idea of issuing more of the greenbacks, as a means of preventing a repetition of the corner in gold.

1870—Passage by Congress of the famous greenback bill, upon the theory that if we had money enough, and the government issued all of it, Wall Street corners in gold would be impossible. President Grant wisely vetoed the measure; and then instantly the greenbackers began making a direct appeal to the people—putting able speakers in the field, distributing literature, and actively organizing party machinery in every State in the Union.

The apparent strength of the greenback movement began at once to alarm bankers and merchants at home and abroad; gold commanded a premium and was steadily withdrawn from circulation by shrewd financiers who were hoarding it, *thus rapidly contracting the volume of our money;* Europe

PANIC OF 1893.

1878—Passage of the Bland Allison act providing for the the coinage of silver dollars at the rate of $2,000,000 per month, upon the theory that they were "coin," and were needed to take the place of greenbacks, which had already been redeemed and canceled. Agitation for the free coinage of silver began, especially through Western newspapers.

1890—Passage of the Sherman Silver Coinage Act providing for the purchase of $4,000,000 worth of silver "bullion" per month—to be stored in the Treasury vaults, and Treasury notes (greenbacks) to that amount to be issued instead. And instantly the free silver men began making a direct appeal to the people—for the "free coinage" of greenback silver certificates, *i. e.*, paper money, issued by the government, contrary to the very letter of the Constitution.

The apparent strength of the free silver movement began at once to alarm bankers and merchants at home and abroad; shrewd financiers began to watch the gold reserve in the Treasury and to convert their stocks and bonds into gold, which they steadily hoarded in safe-deposit vaults, *thus with-*

began to sell our securities and withdraw capital; railroad builders and financiers found increasing difficulty in selling their securities; Jay Cooke & Co., the great Wall Street bankers of that day, finding it impossible to market the bonds of the Northern Pacific Railroad Co., the firm failed for many millions in September, 1873—and thus we were plunged into a terrific panic, which quickly spread throughout the whole country. Gold of course went to a high premium; *that made real money scarce;* and the scarcity of money in every part of the country made tens of thousands of converts to the theories of the greenback leaders, many of whom were distinguished and able men.

To stem the tide of disaster and to give the world assurance that the American people were determined to pay their obligations in honest money, Congress had passed the law providing for the resumption of specie payments—the greenbacks to be retired gradually at the rate of $4,000,000 per month through eight years of time, thus preventing any sudden contraction of the currency. But after $50,000,000 of the greenbacks had been thus redeemed in gold, in 1875 the greenback movement was so threatening that a law

drawing it from circulation and rapidly contracting the volume of our money; Europe began to sell our securities and withdraw capital; railroad building and constructive enterprise halted; the prices of all farm products were driven to the lowest levels in all our history; the government gold reserve of $100,000,000 steadily declined; Charles Foster, the Republican Secretary of the Treasury, visited New York to negotiate a sale of government bonds in January, 1893—but *did nothing, for obvious political reasons;* and thus, two months after Mr. Cleveland went back to the White House, greenback-silver legislation plunged us into the awful panic of 1893.

To stem the tide of disaster, and to give the world assurance that the American people were determined to pay their obligations in honest money, Mr. Cleveland promptly called an extra session of Congress for the sole purpose of repealing the Sherman Silver Coinage law. Then through long weeks of dire panic and bitter warfare with the "combination" of Protection and Free Silver Senators, he never rested until that panic breeding Republican legislation was wiped from our statute books. That heroic act

was passed providing that no more of the greenbacks should be retired—that they should be kept in circulation; and that after January 1, 1879, the Treasury should keep a gold reserve of at least $100,000,000 with which to redeem on demand (but not cancel) any greenbacks that might be presented. This act was carried out in good faith, and in January, 1879, for the first time since the war, gold, silver and paper money stood at par—and no man longer doubted the clear intent of the American people to carry out the very letter and spirit of all our laws specifically providing for the payment of the greenbacks and our war debts in honest money. Then followed the great boom of 1880—as the direct and obvious result of our first notable victory for sound money since the Civil War.

The panic had come and gone under the Morrill tariff; every well-informed man knew that the greenback craze had been the tap-root of the whole trouble; and John Sherman, as Secretary of the Treasury and author of the law which gave us the boon of honest money and booming prosperity—was the logical Republican candidate for President. Then and there the "magnetic" Mr. Blaine of public service began the work of restoring the public credit. And whereas the early issues of government bonds to maintain the gold reserve had gone begging at the banking houses of Morgan and Rothschild, the whole country now responded to the government's need, and later issues of bonds were over-subscribed by thousands of home bankers and individual capitalists. Confidence thus restored, prosperity immediately began to take root. Our exports rose by leaps and bounds; American manufacturers, especially of machinery, enjoyed a foreign demand which was unprecedented; our production of pig iron began to rise rapidly; and by 1895 the effects of the panic were disappearing. We were again upon the open highway to normal and healthy business conditions.

But the free silver men kept up a perfect din of agitation; Mr. McKinley, the notorious advocate of free coinage of silver, captured the Republican nomination under a forced and uncertain pledge to maintain the parity of gold and silver; Bryan, the fearless and frank advocate of free silver, captured the Democratic nomination; and thus we were again scourged with renewed and more

euchred Sherman out of the nomination he had deservedly won; nominated Garfield because he could not possibly win himself; boldly shifted the issue from the money question to the tariff; made "Protection to home industries" the battle-cry of the party; boasted loudly that all our prosperity was born of that policy; savagely threatened a return of the panic if the Republican party were driven from power; and introduced the shallow pretense of Reciprocity to hold the thousands of wavering free traders in the Republican party whom Garfield had taught to believe in "that kind of Protection which leads straight on to free trade." In other words, it was Blaine who euchred John Sherman out of the nomination he had deservedly won in 1880—precisely as it was Hanna who euchred Thomas B. Reed out of the nomination which Reed had deservedly won in 1896—because Reed was a sincere sound money man while McKinley was a rank free silver enthusiast. Thus, it was Blaine who originated in 1880 the familiar program of shouting Protection and threatening panic—which shameless subterfuge Mark Hanna employed in 1896, again employed in 1900, and is still employing as a means of deluding and taxing the people for prolonged industrial depression—solely because of three years of shameless delay in enacting the gold standard law. Bryan polled no less than 6,250,000 votes in 1896; and the Republicans, making haste to enact the Dingley bill, but doing nothing to redeem their promise of the gold standard, the depression continued throughout 1897-98. Early in 1899, public sentiment forced the McKinley administration to definitely pledge themselves to enact the law establishing the gold standard, which was finally passed in March, 1900. Once more McKinley and Bryan were the opposing candidates. But this time McKinley stood squarely and openly for the single gold standard, which of course re-elected him; and that fact, that fact alone, furnishes the complete explanation of the prosperity which we enjoy—and shall continue to enjoy so long as we stand staunchly and fearlessly for the single gold standard. Proof of this lies in the record that the McKinley bill was followed by disaster and panic—obviously because of silver legislation and silver agitation; and the Dingley bill failed to produce prosperity during 1897 and 1898 because of the uncertainty of McKinley's position. Improvement began in 1899, when McKinley

the sole benefit of the combinations and Trusts, which have so fabulously enriched Carnegie, Rockefeller, Morgan and their followers since the passage of the infamous Dingley bill.

became definite in his pledges to maintain the gold standard; and the great boom came in 1900, with the enactment of the gold standard law.

Thus we see, side by side, the essential facts as to the two recent panics which are still vivid in the personal recollection of millions of Americans in the prime of life. And what is true of these two panics, is equally true of the two which preceded them.

After the adoption of the Constitution the first great panic we suffered—the one which we still hear about and to which economists and historians refer constantly—was that of 1837. And as all agree, the sole cause and the complete explanation of that disastrous event was Andrew Jackson's determined and relentless war upon the Bank of the United States. In my Jackson chapter we have seen how a "combination" between the money power and the advocates of Protection deliberately sought: (1) to enrich Northern manufacturers at the expense of Southern planters and Western farmers through Protection legislation; (2) to absolutely control the money, credit, and banking facilities of the entire country; (3) by simple majority vote *in Congress* to control all national legislation; (4) and then through the election of a President pledged to Protection and the Bank monopoly, to dictate the whole governmental policy of the American people. The Bank was the keystone in the arch of that "combination;" and as Jackson pithily put the issue, the

question was simply—Shall the Bank, or the people rule? The overwhelming *vote of the people* in 1832 decided against the Bank and *against Protection;* but in the imperatively necessary process of overthrowing that brazen attempt at monopoly and tyranny, our finances were thrown into confusion and disorder—and thus the era of State banks and State bank notes was inaugurated. No provision was made by the national government for either bank examination or the redemption of State bank notes in coin; wholesale inflation of our currency resulted inevitably; that was immediately followed by mad speculation, especially in Western lands, which were made the basis for the issue of millions of bank notes—and then came the crash in 1837, when every bank in the country *suspended specie payments!*

Mr. Schurz has given an admirable review of the causes and effects of this first great panic, in his biography of Henry Clay; and hence it is only necessary to say here, that the best State banks soon *resumed specie payments*—that is, they redeemed their own notes and those of other good banks in coin on demand. Through rigid adherence to that policy, the State banks supplied the people with an ample volume of sound money, which, with adequate banking facilities in every State, gave us the phenomenal and prolonged era of prosperity and development between 1840 and 1857. And this, mark you, was under the famous Free Trade Tariff! That tariff law put us abreast of England in the race for leading place in the commerce of the world. Then

it was that American Clippers became famous in song and story—just as hundreds of steamers are now waiting and building and planning to fly the American colors so soon as we have common sense enough to sweep away stupid tariff restrictions upon our commerce, as England did wisely full sixty years ago!

The next great panic that we suffered was the historic one of 1857, still fresh in the memory of our oldest financiers, and conspicuous in the annals of our financial history. Simple self-preservation had prompted the leading State banks to maintain specie payments—for they either had to pay specie or be driven out of business by wiser rivals. After the panic of 1837, a few State legislatures also enacted excellent laws making specie payments obligatory; and many able men foresaw the need for national supervision. But still no practical steps were taken to that end. As an inevitable consequence, State banks continued to multiply; new and unfamiliar bank notes were steadily added to the money in circulation; shrewd promoters began to make a business of organizing little banks in one part of the country and then circulating their bank notes in far distant States; the purchase and sale of bank notes became a distinct brokerage business; the railroad and the telegraph were yet in the infancy of their development; and thus, late in the fifties, the whole country was flooded with bank notes, issued by good, bad and indifferent concerns; and the only protection that merchants, bankers and traders had against the uncertain fluctuations of such currency was the frequently pub-

lished "bank note detectors," which made business a burden in those times. "Wild cat" and "red dog" are some of the epithets descriptive of that currency which have come down to us. The crash finally came in 1857, with the failure of the Ohio Life and Trust Company, a great banking institution with headquarters in Cincinnati. Numerous bank failures in all parts of the country quickly followed; specie payments were again suspended by all the banks; *gold at once went to a premium and was promptly hoarded and withdrawn from circulation;* that sudden contraction in the volume of real money, and the panic decline in the value of all kinds of bank notes, quickly spread alarm everywhere; and thus the whole country was scourged by panic, bankruptcy, and industrial depression—the effects of which had not disappeared when we were *plunged into Civil War!*

Now let us see what has happened abroad.

In 1876 Mr. Horace White wrote a notable paper for *The Fortnightly Review,* in which he presented a concise review of the causes and effects of our great panic of 1873. In this paper Mr. White made this important observation:

"The practical exemption of France from the financial crises which periodically afflict America, England, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries, deserves our attention. Even the great financial typhoon of 1857, which swept around the world and across the equator, only skirted the edges of France, causing a few failures in Havre and Marseilles, chiefly in the American trade, and advancing the rate of discount of the Bank of France for a short time to 10 per cent. For all practical purposes France was in the centre of a cyclone, enjoying a calm, while the rest of the civilized world was strewn with every species of commercial

desolation. And such has been her position in the crisis of 1873, notwithstanding the payment of the milliards to Germany. Germany, however, the recipient of the milliards, has been convulsed with hard times and mercantile distress. The reason is simply that the Frenchman is very little addicted to going in debt, very little inclined to speculate, and very much given to hoarding his gains. Perhaps he does not get rich quite so fast as his neighbor across the Channel, but on the other hand he keeps what he gets, and generally escapes those terrible financial crashes that smite the Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon countries with such clockwork regularity. The Frenchman seems to have taken to heart the lesson taught by the great Mississippi bubble, to keep out of mad speculations. Neither the Englishman nor his offspring, the American, learned anything of lasting value from the South Sea bubble or the score of bubbles that have since burst at different times on their hands. Nor has the plodding and methodical German, so apt a scholar in many directions, learned this lesson, although commended to him by frequent and severe chastisement. There is no mystery whatever in the healthy condition of the French finances and French trade since the payment of the German war indemnity. *France habitually holds not less than* £240,000,000 *sterling of the precious metals.* Such a reserve of the most realizable property known to commerce, coupled with the national prudence on the subject of debt, and the national habit of putting little or no money into things they know nothing about, very readily accounts for the practical exemption of France from these sore visitations. It is an encouraging sign of the times that the French people are beginning to appreciate their high position in the world of industry and commerce, and to place thrift, in which they indubitably excel, in the balance against military prowess, in which they can no longer claim pre-eminence.

"In conclusion I ask, is it not humiliating that the Anglo-Saxon race, who have achieved so much in the way of conquering natural obstacles, subduing the earth, civilizing barbarous tribes, establishing free institutions, and promoting education, cannot subsist without sowing the wind and reaping the whirlwind of a financial crisis, two or three times in each generation? Is it not possible for the English speaking people (and the German-speaking people as well) to perform their important office in the world without bringing upon themselves periodically these direful vis-

itations? Must our trade degenerate into gambling every few years, and by its evil consequences plunge great multitudes of innocent people into the depths of misery?''

If Mr. White had been writing in 1903 instead of 1876; and if he had spent the greater part of the past five years in active business in Europe as I have done—I am quite sure he would modify his statements as to English finance. For Britain long ago learned the secret of sound money and banking, and she has entirely exempted herself from the scourge of disastrous and prolonged financial panics, like those we have suffered. Let me illustrate by personal experience and observation abroad:

It was the Free Silver panic of 1893, repeated again in 1896-97, and then accompanied by widespread, severe, and prolonged industrial depression, that drove me to London to establish a European branch of my publishing business. I undertook the enterprise most reluctantly, and solely because I could not see the way out of the grave difficulties into which the Free Silver craze had plunged us. Throughout every branch of industry confidence had been so severely shaken that constructive enterprise was suffering from *paralysis;* and the only American manufacturers who were enjoying any measure of prosperity were those fortunate enough to enjoy an enormous, and wholly unexpected, demand from Europe for machinery and constructive materials of every kind.

When I landed in London May 1, 1897, I was astonished to discover that, in contrast with our widespread and alarming depression, all Eu-

rope, especially the bankers, merchants and manufacturers of England, France, Germany and Belgium, were enjoying a period of the most unexampled prosperity they had ever known. And their prosperity had been continuous throughout the whole four years of our awful panic and depression. European manufacturers were in fact overwhelmed with business; and it was chiefly because they were actually unable to fill their orders that the agents of American manufacturers were then doing a driving trade. Naturally, I made a business of inquiring closely into the causes of this singular contrast in conditions. The results of all my inquiries may be embodied in the concise and definite statements of a very able American engineer, who had been living in London for fifteen years, and who had built up a large and prosperous business as the European representative of several leading American manufacturers of machinery. Replying to my inquiries, said he: "The Free Silver men, the Coxeyites and the cranks make all the trouble for you at home; but we in England *never have any more panics.* We trade with all the world, and if business is dull in one country, we simply push for orders somewhere else. Then we have a *single gold standard.* A Bank of England note is known to be just as good in every quarter of the world as it is right here in London; and bankers and merchants everywhere clearly understand that when an Englishman gives an obligation he not only expects to pay it, but actually *pays it in gold,* or Bank of England notes which are redeemable in gold."

"But," said I, "you had the Baring failure of 1890, and certainly that must have made a more serious depression here than it did with us."

"Not a bit of it," said he. "That failure made trouble enough for the Barings and a few bankers and investors who were associated with them; but so far as the industry and commerce of England were concerned, we should never have known there was a failure except that we saw it mentioned in the newspapers. The fact is that *we never have any panics;* and it is the *stability* of the British government and the *security* which every business man feels that makes Britain the richest, most powerful, and the foremost nation in Europe."

Now, this gentleman was not an economist, and he made no pretense of being a student of political, social, and industrial problems. But he was a clear-headed man of business; his work had made him perfectly familiar with European conditions; and it was his straightforward, direct, and common-sense replies to all my inquiries which first revealed to me the fact that England had actually *outgrown financial panics*—and can never again be afflicted by them so long as she adheres to Free Trade and the single gold standard.

Since that time, however, we have seen conditions almost exactly reversed—but only so far as Germany and the United States are concerned. For while we have been "booming," Germany—the European home and abiding place of Protection, paternalism, syndicates and Trusts—has been echoing doleful tales of bank failures, overcapitalization, receiverships, and alarming fears

of industrial depression. But Germany's rough experience in the past has taught her the wisdom of holding fast to the gold standard, and already, after only one year of disaster for her banks, syndicates and combinations, she is now steadily recovering. Meanwhile, France, Belgium and Switzerland have been moving steadily onward; and proud little Albion—in spite of the great strike of 1898, in spite of the shock and chagrin of the Boer War, in spite of the enormous burden of the new war debt, in spite of the "American peril" and the deluge of cheap raw material and cheap manufactures which have been "dumped" upon her open markets—all Britain has been busy with the work of re-equipping her factories, re-organizing her methods, solidifying her world-wide commercial organization, and fearlessly selling her old ships and antiquated street railway systems to American bidders who pay far more than a full price for them. In short, the British people are not in the least affrighted by the privilege of buying raw materials and manufactures cheaper than her Protection rivals can buy them in Germany and America; and Britain has not the remotest notion of abandoning the policy of Free Trade and sound money—for they have freed her from the scourge of panics, and enriched her beyond all records of the European past.

People marvel that prosperity in the United States should go on and on, in spite of the abuses that we see and suffer; and every other man one meets is ready with a prediction that it cannot last—that we are certain to have another panic.

But this is solely because capital is cowardly, moneyed men are dominated and ruled by fear, and very few men take time to read and recall the past. The truth is that fear of another panic is born of the ravages of the Free Silver fallacy which we have so recently suffered; and the silly people who fear panic and talk panic, are simply playing straight into the hands of the shrewd millionaires who are ruling us—chiefly through fear!

> "No government can be maintained without the principle of fear as well as of duty. Good men will obey the last, but bad ones the former only." —*Thomas Jefferson.*

Carnegie, Morgan and Rockefeller understand their business perfectly. They are not in the least disturbed by silly fears of another panic; and they are piling up millions obviously because they do and dare what other men dread and fear to do. And the faith that enables them to do and dare, is born of the knowledge that lasting prosperity has always followed hot foot upon the heels of each and every re-assertion of the gold standard—in all American history, as in all European history.

How true this has been in our own experience we can see by briefly recalling the facts: Immediately upon the adoption of the Constitution, with its unqualified limitation of legal money to gold and silver, the country bounded into an era of prosperity, which lasted until the embargo and the War of 1812 gave us a temporary check. In 1816, when Madison prudently granted a renewal of the Bank charter as the only available means

of defeating the popular craze for State banks and paper money—then again the country bounded into prosperity which lasted until 1832. Then the Bank monopolists brazenly conspired with the advocates of Protection, and *forced* Jackson to the necessity for overthrowing the money power by refusing to renew the trouble-breeding charter of the Bank of the United States. That conspiracy gave us State banks; and then it was that "our deluded citizens, clamoring for more banks, more banks," had their innings and tried to their fill the "legerdemain tricks on paper" which were "to turn everything into gold." But the great panic of 1837 opened the eyes of the people to the perils of that delusion; and when the State banks, through sheer self-preservation, were forced to make every dollar of paper money "as good as gold"—then again the great Republic enjoyed a prolonged and phenomenal era of commercial, industrial and maritime development. Just twenty years after the panic of 1837, the "wild cat" and "red dog" paper money of the State banks once more plunged us into a "typhoon of panic" in 1857. The familiar, simple, and always effective remedy—making paper money "as good as gold"—was promptly applied; but before we were out of the trouble, Slavery and secession, now in open array against Protection and the threat of confiscation—plunged us into the Civil War.

But the lessons of 1837 and 1857 were not lost. A genius among men was now at the post of honor! Salmon P. Chase was Secretary of the Treasury, and it is to Chase that we owe the one

long stride in constructive statesmanship that we have taken since the Constitution was adopted. For Chase was the originator, creator, and author of our national banking law; and it is that system which now affords us an easy and lasting solution of every problem that perplexes us in banking and corporation finance.

Chase well knew, and repeatedly said, that the national government had no legal right to issue the greenbacks. But the power of the Southern armies forced him to that plain violation of the Constitution, as a means of saving the Union; and promptly, when he became Chief Justice after the War—to his everlasting honor be it said—he put the Supreme Court on record in his famous decision declaring the greenbacks unconstitutional. He was misunderstood and roundly abused at the time; but his head was clear, his faith was firm, he saw his duty, and he did it—with a heroism which genius alone can inspire!

It is needless to recite anew the ravages of the greenback craze between 1873 and 1879, or the worse penalties that we paid for the Free Silver delusion between 1893 and 1899. It is only necessary to say that the fruitful cause, the complete explanation, of the prosperity we have enjoyed since 1899, is to be found in the fact that the American people, by overwhelming majorities, have twice voted for the single gold standard—have twice voted for honest money—have twice voted for the best money in the world! This is the very basis, the secure foundation, of that boundless faith in our industrial future which all the world now plainly manifests. For econo-

mists, statesmen, and financiers everywhere long ago learned that money is the life-blood of commerce and industry; and to keep it pure, to give it free, natural, and unimpeded circulation, is not alone the prime essential to industrial health—it is the very noblest work to which statesmen can address themselves.

Back in 1894 while the panic was raging and the process of educating the people was under way, I wrote a magazine article from which I am prompted to make an extract here, that we may get back to the point of view at that time. In December, 1894, I said:

"It requires no prophet to foresee that the question which must dominate all others in public interest during the coming twelve months, is that of reforming the polyglot system of currency and banking under which the commerce and industry of the United States are now struggling. . . . Back of the Populist demand for 'more money' and 'cheap money'; back of the sentiment favorable to silver coinage upon some safe basis; and back of the unrest and discontent which are manifest in all parties, there is the definite knowledge that our present currency system is both complicated and defective,—that at certain seasons it is inadequate to commercial requirements, and in times of panic positively dangerous to the welfare of our people. This is the vital defect which gives plausibility to all the financial vagaries now prevalent; and whatever sins may be charged against the silver inflationists and the fiat money cranks, they must be credited with having finally aroused the conservatism of the country to a clear appreciation of the fact that financial reform is an imperative need. The wholesale issue of clearing-house certificates, the widespread use of certified checks in place of money, and the premium, not on gold alone, but on currency as well—these are object lessons in finance which have brought home to every man the obvious truth that our currency system is defective, and that it lacks the essential quality of being readily expanded or contracted to meet perfectly legitimate requirements."

Then again in the spring of 1896, as the Presidential campaign was approaching, I published another paper in which I said what follows. Every word of it applies to the situation today, precisely as it applied seven years ago; for with the exception of the gold standard law, which we finally forced the Trust promoters to enact in March, 1900, not one move has been made towards giving simplicity, elasticity, and stability to our money and banking system. In March, 1896, I said:

"In both houses of Congress, and notably in the Senate, there are blatant demagogues who wantonly proclaim doctrines which they know to be false; but in the Senate, as well as in the House, the overwhelming majority of the congressmen who stand for silver coinage or uphold the greenback, are sincerely convinced that they are right. They see that something is radically wrong, and they are simply following their best lights in the effort to solve the problem. More than this, they know that in thus upholding honest convictions they represent the sentiments of their people. In truth, the only kind of money that the present generation has learned anything about is government money and silver money, with an occasional glimpse of gold. It is logically necessary, therefore, that they should believe in the money which for thirty years they have been using; and though they are in error as to the true principles of finance, they are manifestly honest in the theories which they uphold. Nor does this condition of public opinion apply merely to a minority. The candid man must admit that the majority of our people believe that the government should issue our money, and many believe that the silver men have an element of honest truth in their platform. But with that conservatism which is the bulwark of free institutions,—which makes it always safe to trust the people,—a square halt has been called. The voters will not permit any additional coinage of silver, and already they are in the attitude of waiting for further information concerning greenbacks and government money generally. This is undoubtedly true of the people, and it is notably true of their honest leaders. In all the pages of politi-

cal history a more heroic example of loyalty to plain duty and honest conviction has not been written than in the frank declaration of Senator Roger Q. Mills, of Texas, that he regards it as impossible for this country alone to establish the free coinage of silver.

"To the thoughtful man it must be apparent, then, that the paramount duty of this hour is to teach sound principles of finance,—to spread the light to the people who are waiting for it. This is a duty which rests, not upon our representatives in Congress, or some special set of men who comprehend the whole science of finance, but it rests equally upon all men of intelligence and influence. It should find expression in private conversation, in business correspondence, through the columns of the newspaper press, in the pages of the magazines and reviews, especially through the medium of commercial exchanges, boards of trade, and chambers of commerce,—and, more important than all else, the demand for a sound currency and a civilized system of banking should be made so manifest at every political convention between now and next fall, that when the voters come to the polls for the presidential election in November next, there shall be absolutely no mistake as to the demand of the people of the United States for the best money and the best banking system that the world affords."

In 1895 Mr. Horace White wrote and published a little book entitled "Money and Banking" which is by all odds the finest work ever yet penned upon the money question as it exists in the United States. And this strong statement is true because he treats the subject historically—that is to say, he gives the unvarnished facts as to each and all our varied experiments with paper money. His masterly array of stubborn facts cleared my head of all confusion and doubt—just as it will clear the head of every man who is puzzled by the money question; and for that reason

I strongly recommend the book to young men of political ambition who need to know the history of our money question.*

In this little book, in exposing the fundamental fallacy of money issued by a government, Mr. White declares that "the greatest objection of all to fiat money is that it teaches people to believe lies. It creates the belief that the government can make money—that is, real, not representative, money—than which a more damaging lie never gained lodgment in the human brain." This is true, but it is an incomplete statement. Another damaging influence which must be charged against fiat money, is that it teaches people to believe that the banks should not be permitted to issue representative, or paper, money. The belief is wide-spread throughout the United States that the privilege of issuing money is a very valuable one; that the banks are anxious to secure and control it for their private profit; and that the Government should protect the people against the "soulless money changers" who design to charge a profit for the use of what should be "the people's money." Of all the stupid fallacies that have ever gained currency surely this is the most senseless and the most damaging.

As a rule a bank's capital and surplus are about represented by the cash reserve which it must at all times keep in its vaults in order to do a safe banking business. Hence it follows that banking income and banking profits are derived

*Mr. White has since (in 1902) published a "Revised Edition" of this invaluable little work, in the form of a text book for college students. But the original edition, that of 1895, is the one I recommend to the general reader.

almost wholly *from deposits,* which are loaned out at interest. In proof of this I need only cite the fact that on June 30, 1902, the total deposits of our national, state, private, and savings banks, and loan and trust companies, aggregated $9,104,722,986; while the national bank notes then in circulation were only $345,205,836.

If the greenbacks ($346,600,000) and the Treasury notes ($30,000,000) should now be converted into national bank currency, the aggregate of bank-note circulation would still be only $721,805,836; *or considerably less than one-twelfth* of the vast sums of money which depositors gladly commit to the care of bankers—to be used for their individual profit—in return for the security, the accommodation, and the convenience which the banks afford.

This is so obvious a demonstration of the source of banking profits that one marvels at the widespread popular notion that bankers are eager for the privilege of issuing money, and that such a privilege should be denied them. The truth is that for years past our national bank circulation has been unprofitable to the banks; and under any possible or approved system, the necessary outlay of capital to provide security for the notes, and the cost of supervision and insurance against loss, must make the net profit on bank-note circulation a very slender one at best. But the issue of money is a natural and indispensable feature of a sound banking system, for the essential reason that *the people make known their money requirements through the banks.* The banker is, therefore, the only man in a posi-

tion to decide promptly and intelligently as to whether or not money is required for legitimate business transactions. His self-interest will induce him to supply it when needed by responsible borrowers; the cost of issuing it will force him to retire it when no longer needed; and not until we secure this automatic adjustment of currency issues, through the banks, can we hope for that even course of business which is so indispensable to peace and prosperity.

The late George S. Coe, the distinguished inventor of the Clearing House Certificate, has clearly shown that "the real currency of commerce" is made up of bank credits, with the checks, notes, drafts, and bills of exchange which are based upon them. If this fact can ever be driven home to the comprehension of our ten thousand philosophers of inflation, the money question will settle itself in short order. Simply afford adequate banking facilities to the farmer, the village manufacturer, the artisan, and the small tradesman; give him a credit in bank and a check book to make that credit available; and he will soon learn that actual money plays a very small part in the transaction of business,—he will learn what the Clearing-Houses have taught the people of our large cities long ago, namely: that of all the stupendous aggregates of modern business transactions, less than $1 in every $20 is represented by the use of actual money.

The plain truth is, that panic of 1893 was born of the most astonishing array of legislation upon finance and banking that has ever been enacted in the history of any civilized people.

That my readers may clearly comprehend the net results of this legislation, and that we may now see the danger of permitting politicians to meddle with our money circulation, let me here reproduce an extract from a speech of Prof. J. Lawrence Loughlin, delivered in Chicago in October, 1894. The status of our money circulation at that time, and now, has never anywhere been more concisely presented, or more appropriately characterized. To illustrate the heterogeneous character of our money, he presented the following official statement showing its component parts on October 1, 1894 —beside which I give the corresponding official figures for March 1, 1903, to show that "the dime museum of finance" is still with us:

Money in Circulation.	Oct., 1894.	March, 1903.
Gold coin	$500,126,248	$625,262,655
Gold certificates	64,790,439	373,132,044
Silver dollars	54,276,243	75,151,254
Subsidiary silver	58,244,768	91,990,343
Silver certificates	330,520,719	457,154,583
Treasury notes (1890)	121,495,374	22,125,099
United States notes (greenbacks)	267,283,481	342,392,793
Currency certificates	55,755,000	.....
National bank notes	202,546,710	366,787,559
Total	$1,655,038,982	$2,353,996,330

Commenting on this exhibit in 1894 Prof. Loughlin said:

"We have here a dime museum of finance,—'the greatest aggregation of curiosities ever before exhibited under one canvas in the world.' There are nine different and confusing kinds of money—two kinds of gold money, four kinds of silver money,

and three kinds of paper money. The sum total of the four kinds of silver money amounts to about the same as the sum of the two kinds of gold money. Briefly, about 35 per cent. is gold, 35 per cent. is silver, and 30 per cent. is paper. . . . If anything should make us pause and deliberate on the ways of regulating our monetary system, it would be that the loud-voiced, blatant demagogue is allowed to have unimpeded influence in regulating such an intricate mechanism as this."

Now to reduce this "dime museum of finance" to such simplicity that a school boy can understand the problem, it is only necessary to learn what Mr. Horace White has taught with patriotic zeal and persistence, namely: that there are only two kinds of money, and there can never, under any circumstances, be more than two kinds:

(1) Real Money.

(2) Representative Money.

Real money is now gold—the solid, genuine bullion, which sells anywhere and everywhere by weight and fineness, regardless of how it may be coined or stamped. The United States coins it into multiples of dollars; Great Britain coins it into sovereigns and half-sovereigns; France and Germany coin it into multiples of francs or marks; and every other big and little government under the sun coins and stamps it in a way that approximates the system of the larger nations. To get rid of the medley and confusion in coinage, to give international commerce a real money —common to all countries and acceptable everywhere—merchants and bankers the world over have swept aside all these patriotic attempts at individual coinage, and they simply weigh the gold and accept payment according to the actual weight and fineness of the genuine metal. The

honest silver enthusiasts fairly broke their hearts over the theory that silver was "the money of the Constitution," and that it was a "crime" for us to demonetize it. But it was Jefferson who gave us our coinage system; it was Jefferson who gave us "the money of the Constitution;" and it was Jefferson who wrote this in 1784—and kept on writing and believing it to the end of his days:

"The proportion between the values of gold and silver *is a mercantile problem altogether.* The legal proportion in Spain is 16 for 1; in England 15½ for 1; in France 15 for 1. Just principles will lead us to disregard legal proportions altogether; to enquire into the *market price of gold* in the several countries with which we shall principally be connected in commerce, and to take an average from them."

In other words, Jefferson saw what every man in the Constitutional Convention plainly saw, and what disaster and panic have now pounded into the heads of an overwhelming majority of the American people, namely—that gold was, and is, the single standard of all values; and it is utterly beyond the power of statutes or constitutions, past, present, or future, to make anything else REAL MONEY. Wampum was real money when our chief trade was with the Indians; tobacco was real money in Colonial days when our chief trade was with England and France; and "among the things used as money by various people within the historical period are cacao beans, salt, silk, furs, dried fish, wheat, rice, olive oil, cocoanut oil, cotton cloth, cowrie shells, iron, copper, platinum, nickel, silver and gold." Gold is now the real money of our for-

eign and domestic commerce; the American people clearly understand the fact; and it is full time for free silver enthusiasts to sober themselves with the reflection that "a wise man changes his opinions—a fool, never!"

And what is Representative Money?

Every copper penny, every five-cent nickel, every silver dime, every silver dollar, and each and every scrap of paper money that we see and handle daily, is neither more nor less than Representative Money—that is, it represents gold. And it is neither good money nor safe money unless it can be redeemed in gold on demand at any bank in the United States. With these obvious facts in mind, the thing needful to bring order out of confusion, to substitute simplicity for puzzling complexity, and to give us a money system which a child can understand, is that our national banking law shall now be amended so that:

(1) In addition to government bonds, the Treasury shall accept as security for bank notes issued by the national banks, State and municipal bonds (of cities numbering 100,000 population or more) as well as the bonds of leading railroad systems to be designated in the law. This is absolutely necessary, because the national debt is being so rapidly reduced that within a very few years the government bonds will be insufficient for the purpose. And the day has gone by for questioning the value of first class State, municipal and standard railroad bonds. They are the best securities known—and will steadily get better. More than this, Mr. Chase's sole object in originally limiting bank note securities to gov-

ernment bonds, was to make a demand for the bonds—to aid in the then difficult task of raising money with which to prosecute the war; for our national bank law was enacted in 1863-4, when government bonds were selling at an enormous discount. The limitation was wise then, but it is senseless now.

(2) The national banks, being under strict supervision, should have the right to issue bank notes to the full face value of these bonds, the Comptroller of the Currency being armed with authority to promptly demand additional securities when market values decline. And beyond this, the tax upon bank note circulation, in addition to covering the cost of printing, supervision, and bank examination, should also provide an insurance fund against any possible loss through bank failures.

(3) Every national bank should be required to redeem its bank notes in gold on demand. To that end, the law should provide that every national bank should at all times carry in its vaults, as part of its legal reserve, gold coin equal to at least 25 per cent. of its bank note issues. That would keep the gold in the bank reserves—where it belongs, and where it can be ten, twenty, or fifty times more useful than in any other way. For people greatly prefer to use paper money in large denominations, because it is incomparably more convenient; and they will never bother with handling weighty sums of gold—provided always that they are absolutely sure of getting the gold on demand.

(4) Every time a greenback is presented at

the national Treasury, it should be instantly redeemed in gold—and then promptly burned to powder. In place of the greenback the gold would then pass into actual circulation and become the secure basis of our bank reserves and bank notes—instead of lying idle and useless in the Treasury, as it now does. The government's gold reserve would thus gradually pass into actual circulation. Then the Secretary of the Treasury should be authorized to sell gold bonds, and use all surplus revenue, in sufficient amount to retire the remainder of the greenbacks in like manner. We need not trouble ourselves in the least over any possible "contraction of the currency." The natural and inevitable increase of national bank notes would far more than fill the gap, for of course retirement of the trouble-breeding greenbacks would be gradual and automatic.

(5) The gold certificates should be immediately called in, the gold they represent being issued in place of them. And the government should retire forever from the business of storing gold and issuing certificates which pass as money—obviously because money of that kind breeds the perilous delusion that the government has power to issue paper money. The government has no such power, and the Constitution specifically prohibits it.

(6) The Silver Certificates should be steadily retired from circulation by the simple process of issuing the silver dollars in place of them—precisely as the confusing Treasury Notes are already in process of retirement. These Treasury Notes

were issued under the Silver Bill of 1890—which precipitated the panic of 1893—in payment for silver bullion to be stored in the Treasury. That stupid performance was in some measure set right by the law providing that, as the Treasury Notes were presented, the bullion should be coined and the silver dollars themselves put in circulation. If now the Silver Certificates be retired as rapidly as the silver dollars can be forced into circulation; if every needed increase in our subsidiary silver coin be met by canceling Silver Certificates and coining the silver dollars into dimes, quarters and half dollars; and if we have the good sense to provide the Philippines, Hawaii, and Porto Rico with silver money from our surplus stores—within the course of a comparatively few years the Silver Certificates will have disappeared, and the silver itself, now lying idle in the Treasury, will become part of our actual money circulation. The notion that the silver dollars are "unpopular" is simple nonsense. Identically the same notion prevailed when, after the war, we were pestered with the disease-breeding "shinplasters," in the form of paper dimes, quarters and half dollars. Nobody would now think of going back to them again; and so it would be with the silver dollars. Simply stop issuing the one- and two-dollar silver certificates; make five dollars the smallest bank note; and within a few years people will wonder how we could have been foolish enough to endanger the public health and confuse the minds of the people with "greenback" silver certificates.

(7) Finally, the law should specifically pro-

vide that all national bank notes now in use should be replaced gradually and steadily by new ones, on the face of which should be engraved in bold letters the conspicuous statement that the bank of issue *will pay the full face of the note in gold on demand.* The educational value of that statement upon every bank note would be simply priceless and incalculable! It would make an end forever of the "government money" delusion, which has cost us two prolonged and awful panics since the Civil War; and beyond that, it would steadily teach every man, woman and child in the nation the vital truth that a bank note is not real money, but a mere promise to pay real money on demand.

These changes are all simple, logical, harmless, and imperatively necessary. If we insist upon them, and keep on insisting until they are made, we should then have (1), gold and silver as the obvious basis of our money system—*actual coin being the only money issued by the government,* as the Constitution specifically provides; and (2), within a few years *national bank notes should be the only paper money that the people could ever see.* And every dollar of that paper money should be redeemable in gold on demand, not by the government, but *by the banks which issue it*—precisely as the Bank of England, the Bank of France, and the Imperial Bank of Germany are now required to redeem in gold every piece of paper money that the English, French and German people use.

In the light of these logical and obviously necessary changes, we can now adequately appreci-

ate the priceless public service that Salmon P. Chase rendered us in originating and sturdily insisting upon the adoption of our present national banking system.

Mr. Chase encountered the greatest difficulty in establishing the national banks, first, through the opposition of all our leading bankers, who feared that the now-familiar bank examinations and published statements would reveal the secrets of their business; and next, from the opposition of the greenbackers and the believers in State bank notes, who honestly feared that the new system would inevitably result in another dangerous monopoly of the money and banking facilities of the people. But after forty years experience we now see the system firmly rooted in the confidence and approval of the whole people. It affords every advantage that a great central bank, with numerous branches scattered in every part of the country can offer; and it entails none of the proved perils of a formidable institution of that character. The little banks are in reality branches of the big banks, for through the Clearing Houses, and through direct and voluntary correspondence, they all co-operate under the same system. But each bank is absolutely independent of all the others in the management of its own affairs; and whether the capital be $25,000 or $25,000,000, they are all alike subject to the same examination, the same necessary publication of statements, and the same definite limitations as to issuing bank notes. The government, instead of engaging in the banking business, simply performs the legitimate governmental func-

tion of protecting property—that is, it requires the deposit of bonds to secure the payment of the bank notes, it examines the books periodically to make sure that the bank is sound and its business being prudently and honestly conducted, and it requires the publication of statements in the local newspapers for the information of depositors and the people at large.

The advantages of the system for attracting and holding depositors is very aptly illustrated by the following advertisement, which a small bank in a suburban village near New York now regularly displays in the local newspapers, as a means of meeting the competition of a new trust company—lately established in the town to do a banking, as well as a trust company, business:

THE CITIZENS' NATIONAL BANK.

SPECIAL ADVANTAGES IT AFFORDS ARE:

THAT it offers as security all the safeguards of the National Banking Act.

THAT it only does a Banking Business.

THAT Stockholders are liable for an amount equal to its Capital.

THAT it is restricted as to the amount it can loan to any one party.

THAT it is limited by law as to the nature of its investments.

THAT without notice it is examined from time to time by the United States Examiner.

THAT five times a year reports are called for of the condition of the Bank at some preceding date, without any previous notice, and the report is sworn to and published.

THAT it is always required to keep in Cash in the Bank a certain percentage of its deposits.

In brief, our national banking system is modeled closely after our Federal system of government. Like the States, counties, townships, and cities, the banks enjoy "local self-government," having entire charge of their own affairs. But the Federal government stands over them to preserve order, to protect property rights, and to see that the interstate commerce of the whole people is not endangered by the issue of irredeemable paper money. Forty years of experience have demonstrated the unrivaled merit of the system; the wit of man has never yet devised a more perfect system; and it will endure for ages —just so surely as liberty survives and free men continue to govern themselves under federated and representative political institutions.

And as the system is perfect in its adaptation to our needs, so our *national bank note is the most perfect form of paper money that the world has ever seen*—obviously because, so long as marketable bonds are deposited to secure the full payment of every note issued, we can safely permit little banks and big banks to expand and contract the currency precisely as commerce and industry demand. This bond security feature, in fact, makes our bank note a vast improvement over "credit currency"—which is always perilous; and it is a long step in advance of the Bank of England notes, because they are rigidly limited in amount by the actual gold which they represent. That is British conservatism carried too far.

If now we take the government out of the banking business; *if we transfer to the banks the bur-*

den of maintaining gold payments and supplying gold when it may be needed for export; and if we require each of the banks to carry, as part of its legal reserve, at least 25 per cent. of its note issues in actual gold coin with which to redeem every note that may be presented—then we shall have the safest, most scientific, and most perfect system of bank note issues that the world has ever yet known. It will expand and contract automatically, as trade requirements dictate; the wide distribution of gold among all the banks will make a corner in gold utterly impossible; legitimate borrowers, with known credit and ample securities to offer, can get accommodations from so many different banks that it will be impossible for the great Wall Street bankers to corner the money market; and whether our per capita of money in circulation be $25 or $50—the bond security, lying safely in the Treasury in Washington, will give a rock-ribbed guarantee of the full payment of every bank note that may be issued.

All of this is easily possible, because the American people are irrevocably committed to the single gold standard; there is plenty of gold now in existence to do the work; the increase in the production of gold is steady and enormous; and should the time ever come when gold will become too cheap and too bulky to serve as the money standard—which is exactly what has happened to silver—then all we need do is to make absolutely sure that *all our money is as good as the best,* no matter what the standard may be. But that is thinking for the far, far future—and future generations will be quite able to take care of them-

selves "so long as the press is free." The problem of the present, the immediate problem, is to make our money and banking laws conform to what the people want—conform to what they have twice voted for by overwhelming majorities.

For these reasons I hold that, just as four wars have taught us precisely how to employ our armies and navies in defense of our liberties at home and our just rights abroad, so four panics have now taught us the beginning and the end of money and finance. The fear of another panic is born of ignorance and sheer neglect of plain duty by the Republican party, which is now dominated and owned by the plotting and scheming millionaires. To permit another panic would be a folly and crime unthinkable. And if ever we have a President in the White House who countenances threats of panic, or who dares to permit any group of scheming promoters to meddle with and manipulate the people's money for stock-jobbing purposes—he should be impeached and disgraced for mental incompetency!

THE TARIFF AS RELATED TO THE TRUSTS.

"I think all the world would gain by setting commerce at perfect freedom."

"Our interest will be to throw open the doors of commerce, and to knock off all its shackles, giving perfect freedom to all persons for the vent of whatever they may choose to bring into our ports, and asking the same in theirs."

"Instead of embarrassing commerce under piles of regulating laws, duties, and prohibitions, could it be relieved of all its shackles in all parts of the world, could every country be employed in producing that which nature has best fitted it to produce, and each be free to exchange with others mutual surpluses for mutual wants, the greatest mass possible would then be produced of those things which contribute to human life and human happiness; the numbers of mankind would be increased, and their condition bettered. Would even a single nation begin with the United States this system of free commerce, it would be advisable to begin it with that nation, since it is one by one only that it can extend to all."

—*Thomas Jefferson.*

Chapter IX.

Environment makes the man—and the mind.

Nativity stamps its impress upon man's physical and mental nature so indelibly that the individual can never shake it off. Who ever heard of an Indian becoming anything else than an Indian; or a Chinaman becoming anything else than a Chinaman? Who that has traveled and made a study of native Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans and Americans, but can instantly distinguish their differing characteristics?

It is this fact in natural history which has en-

abled Darwin, Spencer, Wallace, Huxley and their fellows, to reorganize and re-form scientific philosophy; to prove by numberless examples drawn from the known history of all peoples, how persistent is race inheritance; and thus to make evident the universal law of evolution, by which different environment, producing slight physical changes, slowly evolves, step by step, through ages of time, a new type, a new race, of men.

And what is true of the physical world, is equally and inexorably true of mental science. Fortunately, however, the printing press enables men of all nations and climes to be citizens of the world. Through reading and study; through travel and observation; through comparison of what we see about us with authentic records of what other people think and do, we can recognize and correct our defects—that is to say, we can rise superior to the physical and material environment which hedges us about. For these reasons, mental science goes forward by leaps and bounds—but only "so long as the press is free." For the history of the world gives ample proof that when prison walls, the guillotine, the thumbscrew of the Inquisition, and armies and navies can be employed to prevent men from writing what they think—just so long is the progress of mental science limited by the inexorable laws of physical science. And this is precisely why Jefferson's genius prompted him to write:

> "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

It is since the invention of printing, since the press became free, and especially since the steamship, the railroad, and the telegraph came to the aid of the press, that the world has been bounding forward in mental science at a rate that mankind never knew before. Men have simply been free to print and free to criticise; free to scoff at old and foolish systems, and free to agitate for new and better systems; free to travel, and almost free to trade; free to invent new methods and machinery, and always free to demonstrate the advantages of new inventions. Thus millions of men have been able to rise above their environment. And through the leadership of resourceful and inventive minds, the standard of intelligence and the standard of physical comfort for the great body of the people have advanced wonderfully during the past century.

But throughout the period of the greatest advance, for full forty years past, the American people have been living under the barbarous system of Protection. The party in power has stood for it; politicians have won offices and honors by advocating it; the rich and the well-to-do have upheld it; the manufacturers, big and little, have had a pocket interest in supporting its campaign expenses; and the free traders who oppose it have been so few and far between that they have counted as mere theorists. As a natural, as an inevitable consequence, this environment has taught millions of clear-headed men of business to honestly entertain the delusion that Protection

has built up our great industries,—that without Protection our manufacturing supremacy could never have been won.

But, at last, the light of day is now dawning!

Dewey began the process of education at daybreak on that immortal May morning in Manila Bay, when he taught the new race of American seamen precisely how to do their work. That started all America at the business of studying forgotten maps of the world, that they might at least know where the Philippines were located. From that day to this, we have been busy with the study of world history, world politics, and, especially, the possibilities of world-wide trade. Santiago followed Manila quickly—to demonstrate that Dewey's work was neither a miracle nor an accident. And the Fourth of July news from Santiago in 1898 was profoundly impressive and significant to all Europe, because it emphasized with shot and shell the realism of that Declaration of Independence which our fathers gave to the world on July Fourth, 1776. Europe scoffed at the first Declaration, and kept on scoffing at it for just one hundred and twenty-two years. But that message from Manila and Santiago was spoken in a language which all Europe has been trained to understand—and, understanding, they have ceased to scoff!

> "Let us have faith that right makes might; and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it."
>
> —*Abraham Lincoln.*

While the spectacular and instructive little war with Spain was in progress, we began to be

amazed by the figures showing a sudden and enormous increase in our exports of metals, machinery, and manufactures of every kind. Straightway thousands of American manufacturers and American salesmen sped to Europe to look after the unexpected, unsought, and surprising foreign demand for practically everything that we manufacture for our home markets. Then followed the startling contracts for great bridges in the Soudan, in Burma, and in East and Central Africa; for locomotives to run on British railways; for power plants to operate traction systems in British and Continental cities; and for American electrical machinery and machine tools to be installed in every center of industry throughout Europe. For full five years past newspaper correspondents and ambitious authors have been writing volumes about "The American Invaders" and "The American Peril;" while the technical press on both sides of the Atlantic has been busy with the work of illustrating and describing the exact differences between American and European methods, machinery, and industrial management. This in turn has brought shoals of British and Continental engineers and manufacturers to the United States to study our great and small manufacturing plants; to marvel at our methods and machinery; and straightway to adopt what is manifestly superior—to our advantage, as well as theirs.

Thus travel, observation, study, and profitable experience in selling our manufactures to foreign customers, have converted tens of thousands of life-long believers in Protection into radical tariff

reformers or out-and-out free traders. Not an American manufacturer who has been abroad or sold goods abroad but is now ready and eager for radical tariff reform—obviously because it would lower the cost of all the materials of production and make an end of the tyranny and heavy tribute that the Trusts exact. Not an editor or publisher of our numerous technical journals, and not an inventor, engineer, works manager, or high-salaried salesman in the service of our industries, but sees the pressing need for getting rid of the exorbitant prices which are hampering business at home and fast shutting us out of foreign markets. Not a well-informed and honest banker in the Nation but glories in every development that exposes and discredits the inflated "industrials"—watered to five times their real value, and perilous to all legitimate banking interests, because nobody but "insiders" can learn anything about them.

"When great evils happen, I am in the habit of looking out for what good may arise from them as consolation to us; and Providence has in fact so established the order of things as that most evils are the means of producing some good."

—*Thomas Jefferson.*

And Jefferson was right in this—as he was right in all else that he ever taught or did in American political history. Trust jobbery is an intolerable evil. But it is to the stock-jobbing Trust promoters that we are indebted for a spectacular demonstration of the now obvious fact that pocket-interest is the inspiration of Protection "logic," and that those who teach Protection have no other purpose than to enrich the few at the direct expense of the many—as all American

history proves, as all British history proves, as all Continental history proves, and as every great thinker and writer upon political economy since Adam Smith's time has demonstrated so clearly, in cold print, that no man need longer be burdened with the Protection delusion if he will simply take time to read a small part of the free trade literature which every library can supply.

Now that the stock-jobbers have demonstrated what free trade writers and tariff reformers have been vainly teaching for forty years, the immediate business in hand is to show how the work of the Protection schemers can be undone—with the least possible injury to the fewest number of people, and with the greatest possible benefit to the whole Nation. And here again we must turn to Jefferson for wise guidance:

"A government held together by the bands of reason only, requires much compromise of opinion; that things even salutary should not be crammed down the throats of dissenting brethren."
—*Thomas Jefferson.*

I was born to belief in Protection.

Five generations of my ancestors were iron manufacturers; my forefathers followed and believed in Henry Clay as they believed in the Gospel; and I grew to manhood in that environment. I know, therefore, that thousands of men who are still burdened with belief in Protection—but who have ceased to preach it—are just as honest, just as earnest, and just as patriotic as I ever dared to be. But the necessity for making a living has driven me beyond the limits of local environment. I have come to see that Protection is a delusion.

My eyes have been opened wide to the fact that the politicians who continue to preach Protection, like the promoters who pay Protection's campaign expenses, are inspired solely by selfish personal interest. And I know—as the overwhelming majority of the American people well know—that Protection is the very bulwark and mainstay of the Trusts that fleece and menace us.

The proof of this is so ample and so conclusive that no honest man need longer be deceived. And, by way of proof, I will begin with presenting, side by side, the current prices for iron and steel—the basis of all constructive enterprise—in Trust-ridden America and in Free Trade England. The quotations are supplied by one of the most reputable American firms engaged in the import trade in iron and steel, and the prices given represent actual transactions.

In each case the quotation is for a long ton of 2,240 lbs. f. o. b. at Middlesbrough and Swansea, England, and f. o. b. Pittsburgh, Pa.; and the prices are those current during the first half of May, 1903:

	ENGLAND	UNITED STATES	DINGLEY DUTY
Merchant Bar Iron	$30.00	$48.10	$13.44
Bessemer Billets	20.00	30.00	6.72
Bessemer Pig Iron	14.36	19.35	4.00
No. 3 Foundry Iron	11.40	19.75	4.00
Gray Forge Iron	11.25	19.00	4.00
Tank Plates	30.91	38.08	13.44
Black Plates	50.40	72.80	*29.12

Now, mark you, Mr. Rockefeller has taught us

*In the light of this enormous profit upon every ton of material used in making tin plate, it is not difficult to see how a few men have made millions through the Tin Plate Trust. "Finance is a mere matter of politics," as Disraeli shrewdly observed.

that combinations "are a necessity" *to cheapen production.* Mr. Carnegie has joined him in teaching that:

"The masses of the people, the toiling millions, are soon to find in this great law of aggregation of capital and of factories another of those beneficent agencies which in their operation tend to bring to the homes of the poor, in greater degree than ever, more and more of the luxuries of the rich, and into their lives more of sweetness and light."

Inspired by this beneficent teaching, Mr. Morgan has put the system into practical operation, so that the dear people may get more and more of "sweetness and light;" and Mr. Roosevelt, our strenuous and rough-riding reformer, joins the glad acclaim of the Prosperity Prophets by telling us that "Great fortunes have been won by those who have taken the lead in this phenomenal industrial development, and most of these fortunes have been won, not by doing evil, but as an incident to action which has benefited the community as a whole." But some of us are prompted to ask, How is the community as a whole "benefited" by these high prices for steel and iron—prices away above what English freemen are asked to pay—prices enormously higher than we were asked to pay for many years, *before* the beneficent Trusts were formed—prices which fully explain the fabulous profits ($140,000,000 a year) of the Steel Trust?

One of the favorite subterfuges of the Trust promoters and Protection politicians, is to boast that Free Trade England has Trusts, precisely as we have Trusts in America—thus deluding the

uninformed with the belief that "the question of regulation of the Trusts stands apart from the question of tariff revision." I have been actively engaged in business in Europe for six years past. I know London as I know New York. And I have never heard of any English millionaires who have duplicated the work which has made Carnegie, Rockefeller and Morgan notorious. But I have heard of several English promoters who attempted to imitate the American example—to the infinite discomfiture of investors in these wonder-working combination shares! I know, also, that a prodigious effort was made to combine the iron and steel manufactures of Great Britain, just as they are combined in America; and that effort failed—solely because there is not, and never again can be, a Protection wall around the sea coast of the liberty-loving British isles. In consequence of that fact, British shipbuilders, British machinery manufacturers, and British consumers of iron and steel generally, buy their staples of productive and constructive industry much cheaper than their American competitors. And meanwhile, Britain's output of iron and steel is now larger than ever before in all her proud history.

Very recently, also, the President of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom, Sir John Lubbock, "so well known in the world of science and commerce," called attention to the speaking facts which are thus reported by the London correspondent of the New York *Evening Post:*

"You know how full the air has been during the past year of

prophecies of Britain's industrial decay. What says Sir John Lubbock? Both imports and exports he notes had risen, and the total last year (1902) attained the gigantic sum of $4,260,000,000, which showed an increase of $50,000,000 over 1901. In fact, 1902 was a record year. Moreover, the increase was very evenly distributed. It said much for the skill and energy of British manufacturers that those of scarcely any other country were prepared to compete with them on free and open terms. But while, no doubt, foreign countries might bolster up particular industries, it was only at the expense of others. Perhaps it would be said that these were only the figures for one year. That was true, but if they went back twenty, thirty, or forty years, they would, in any case, find satisfactory progress. Forty years ago British commerce was not half what it is now, the shipping had doubled in the same period; 1d. on the income tax now produces twice as much as it did; the consumption of what might be called the comforts of life had immensely increased. He did not say that this proved the wisdom of British policy, but it proved that Britain was making very satisfactory progress. Englishmen did not now hear quite so much about Germany as they did; but they were often told, and it sounded plausible to say, for instance, that Germany protected her manufactures, her agriculture, her canals, her sugar industries, and her shipping. But at whose expense? She could not tax France or Russia or England. *Her own people had to bear the expense.*"

In his written testimony before the Industrial Commission, Mr. Rockefeller told us that among the "advantages" of industrial combinations are: "Economy in business—Power to give the public improved products *at less prices,* and still make profit for stockholders—Permanent work and good wages for laborers." As against this persuasive *argument,* we know that the Standard Oil Company has advanced the price of oil four cents a gallon within the past twelve months; and the prices shown above indicate the "advantages" which the United States Steel Corporation is affording American consumers of iron and steel.

Back in August, 1900, Senator Marcus A. Hanna made a speech to a great multitude of people at Asbury Park. I knew that what he said would be worth recalling later on, and so at the time I clipped the following extract from the newspapers for future use:

"Go back to 1892, when, under a Republican Administration, we found ourselves in the midst of prosperity; we found the furnaces were lighted, the spindles were humming; men were busy on every hand; happiness prevailed throughout the country.

"There came a change. People wanted a change and got it. I need not tell you how fire after fire went out; how the spindles ceased to spin; how the laborer was thrown out of employment month after month. It grew worse and worse, until the country was in a deplorable condition.

"The people wanted another change, and they got it. And what a change it was! Fires were again lighted; spindles began to sing again; prosperity became manifest on every hand; happy homes, happy firesides were the result of that change.

"Do you want another? Do you want to go back to 1893, to 1897? Of course, you don't, and don't intend to; but if you don't, you all want to commence this night, and from this time on, do your duty in this campaign."

Yes, Mr. Hanna, we had a change in 1892, from the party that enacted the Sherman Silver Coinage Law—*as the price paid for the McKinley bill.* We had another change in 1896, because we refused to elect a Democratic candidate openly pledged to the free coinage of silver. In 1900 we were hungering and thirsting for still another change, from the party that *deliberately betrayed our Sound Money victory by enacting the infamous Dingley bill.* But we saw that a second lesson was needed to teach ambitious free silver Democrats the error of their honest convictions;

and as a mighty Nation of freemen we were brave enough, rich enough, and powerful enough to hold ourselves though we knew that you and your Trust-promoting friends had no other object than to enrich yourselves through the fabulous profits made possible by that same infamous Dingley bill.

But now the time has come for a reckoning. Free silver is dead beyond resuscitation. The lessons of experience have been learned. We mean to have another change in 1904. And that change will be simply to demand that the Oil Trust, the Steel Trust, and all the lesser Trusts shall sell to American manufacturers at the same prices that they sell to English manufacturers. We shall be entirely content with that basis, because we know—we have Carnegie's word for it—that you can produce cheaper here than they can possibly produce in England. And hence *you will not have the shadow of an excuse* for creating a panic or shutting down factories and throwing men out of work for political effect.

In fact, Mr. Hanna, the American people understand their business much better than you suppose. They understand perfectly that your personal ambition prompted you to supply the cash capital and the organizing capacity which McKinley lacked; and so you took him in hand, to show what a strong man can do for even a weak candidate—if the work be done systematically and on "business principles." The deep schemers who have been piling up millions since the Civil War quickly saw that you could be useful; and so they sent Tom Platt and others out to the

convention at St. Louis in 1896 to make terms with you. When you forced McKinley to swallow his free silver convictions; and when you agreed to a platform which would at least *promise* sound money—then they took you into the "community-of-interest" partnership. The rest is soon told. Carnegie, Rockefeller, Morgan & Co. elected McKinley; passed the Dingley bill; combined our iron and steel industries; monopolized our best ore mines and coking coal; put prices up; proved the net cash profits they are making; capitalized that Protection income at about a ten per cent basis; and for three years past they have been busy in the work of marketing the watered stock.

If we now remove the duties, the prices of iron and steel will steadily settle down to a normal level with European prices—which would, of course, make a large hole in the net profits of the Steel Trust. As the profits go down, the Wall Street quotations for the watered stock will probably follow. But that does not concern us. It concerns the enterprising promoters who have capitalized Protection profits; and it concerns the few people who have been induced to invest their savings in Steel Trust stocks. Carnegie warned them, before and after, that "the only people who need fear the Trusts are those who trust them, those foolish enough to go into them." They will probably have reason to recall that warning; and they will doubtless have some hard things to say concerning those who have tempted them to invest their savings. But whether they win or lose in the great Wall Street game of chance, they are at least sure of the consoling knowledge that they

have enabled Mr. Carnegie to pose as the world's greatest "benefactor;" that they have enabled Mr. Rockefeller to prove himself the master-mind of industrial combinations—which "are a necessity" now, though they never were before; and they have enabled Mr. Morgan to write his title clear as our Napoleon of Finance.

But again I say, this does not concern us. We are charged with the solemn duty of justly governing eighty millions of freemen. Three centuries of time look down upon us. The blood and sacrifice of millions of heroes, who have given their lives, their fortunes, and their all, that we might enjoy what we now possess of liberty and opportunity—these speak now! Our rich and exhaustless stores of iron ore and coking coal, and our furnaces, mills, and factories—are all here. Willing hands are ready to work them upon fair terms—with differences always subject to arbitration. The demand for iron and steel is without limit—if the prices be made low enough to induce consumption. And we absolutely KNOW that we can produce cheaper than any other people under the sun!

In short, a few thousand stockholders in the Steel Trust now have a pocket-interest in supporting the Dingley duties, that profits may be fabulous and that dividends may be high. But on the other hand, eighty millions of American freemen have a pocket-interest in demanding that the Dingley duties be removed, so that the many may not be taxed to enrich the few.

Now let us take a look abroad.

For full twenty years past men engaged in ex-

port trade have known that our manufacturers sell their goods to foreign consumers at very low prices, while charging American consumers "all the traffic will bear" inside our tariff wall. But it is only since Wall Street promoters began to capitalize Protection profits, and only since the *Trusts began to squeeze smaller manufacturers,* that we have been able to get any authentic information upon that subject. The sworn testimony before the Industrial Commission gives abundant and speaking evidence upon this point—but that testimony is far too voluminous for reproduction in these pages. Those who desire the literature can easily obtain it through tariff-reform Congressmen. It will suffice here if I present the following table of prices, taken from authenticated export price lists, and published last summer by Representative Griggs, Chairman of the Democratic Congressional Committee:

Articles.	Price to Americans.	Price to foreigners.
Wire nails (keg)	$2 25	$1 30
Wire rope (coil)	12 00	5 00
Lead (100 lbs.)	4 00	2 00
Shovels (dozen)	7 50	5 80
Axle grease (lb.)	08	04
Washboards (dozen)	3 00	1 70
Meat choppers	2 70	1 50
Barbed wire	3 00	2 20
Clock (alarm)	60	30
Lawn mowers	4 25	2 75
Fruit jars (Mason's, dozen)	80	55
Typewriters	100 00	55 00
Sewing machines	40 00	17 00
Tin plate (100 lbs.)	4 19	3 19

Borax is an article which sells in England

at 2½ cents a pound, and in the United States at 7½ cents. The Dingley duty is exactly 5 cents a pound—and the stockholders of the Borax Trust swear by the Dingley duty.

Mica is an article which is largely used in the electrical industries, and also by the stove makers. The Dingley duty on mica amounts to a modest 4,000 per cent. of its market price in England,—and the stockholders in the Mica Trust are happy as clams at high tide!

Mr. Roosevelt—the original free trader, now leading the Protection hosts,—tells us that if we remove the duties on Trust products we shall seriously cripple the numerous smaller manufacturers who are struggling in competition with the Trusts. But these smaller competitors—who *do not* control their own raw materials, who *must* buy from the Trusts, and who have no "community-of-interest" with the railroads in the matter of freight rates and shipping facilities—these independent producers can supply Mr. Roosevelt with much instructive information as to how the Trusts compete with them. Here, for example, is a little item clipped from the *New York Herald* which indicates what happened recently when the "outsiders" began to compete for business by reducing prices for tin plate, wire nails, sheet steel and iron pipe:

"It is reported that the United States Steel Corporation may advance the price of iron ore early in the new year, and at the same time may reduce the price of some finished materials. Other manufacturers who have not the control of their own raw material will work to a disadvantage where they have to buy the ores from their big competitor. At the same time profits will

be materially reduced when they come to sell their products. It is believed that other steel and iron concerns which control their own raw material will readily follow the lead of the steel corporation.

"If this plan is followed a heavy blow will be struck at numerous small competitors in the iron and steel business which are believed to be responsible for the cuts in prices recently announced."

Mr. Charles T. Yerkes, the millionaire operator in street railway franchises, was the successful competitor against Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan in securing the great contract for giving London an up-to-date rapid transit system. After his contract was signed he came back home to place large orders for equipment, which English manufacturers could not supply within the time when he needed it to complete his work. But arriving here, he found that the Steel Trust had been formed in his absence. Thereupon he was prompted to talk very frankly to the newspaper reporters. This is the substance of what he said while here:

"To repeat: prices are abnormally high. That is the crux of the whole problem. Steel rails cost thirty per cent. more to-day than they did three years ago. Car bodies that I purchased three years ago for $1,850 now cost $3,600. That is too much; it is not warranted.

"Yes, I am opposed to Trusts, and why should I not be? Their influence has raised the price of everything we use. The rise in the price of some of our material is beyond reason."

Returning to London he again talked freely to the reporters; and here are two cabled accounts of what he said:

London, Feb. 4.—In an interview Charles T. Yerkes declared that the American Trusts are raising prices so rapidly as to destroy their power to compete with the markets of Europe; that

the increased prices in everything in the United States are due to the inflation of capital when the Steel Trust was formed; and that there is a prospect of the election of a Democratic President.

"Trust owners in the United States," Mr. Yerkes said, "number about six hundred. They have many satellites who would support them, but the masses of the people are suspicious and see danger in their growing power.

"The Republican party is partly associated in the public mind with Trusts. Roosevelt has opposed them, but Trust leaders know that even if he is re-elected a Republican Congress will prevent him from doing them much harm. People are aware of this, and there is a possibility that they will elect a Democratic anti-trust President and Congress.

"The moment has come for a new man to rise in the Democratic ranks; a man of the right kind, who may sweep the field. Where is the man, you ask? Where was the man when Lincoln appeared?

"I see little to fear from the increasing power of the unions. The workingmen saw capitalists forming unions and reaping millions, and they said they would unite and try to get their share. Can you blame them?"

London, February 4.– Mr. Charles T. Yerkes, who returned to London on Sunday, tells the British public, through the medium of the *Daily Mail* this morning, that the Trusts are so raising prices in America as to destroy their power to compete with manufactured goods in the markets of Europe.

"When I was in America," he said, "I was asked if I had come there to purchase material for my London railways. 'Everything that can be made in England I am getting on the spot,' I said. 'But even if I had not resolved to do this, I could not buy from America. Your prices have so increased that you are too dear.'

"This is true of the prices of steel goods, which have generally risen twenty-five per cent. This is bound to come from the great inflation of capital that took place when the Steel Trust was formed. Millions of dollars were added on to the intrinsic value of the companies absorbed. Interest on this additional money can only be paid by increasing the price to the consumer.

"Everything outside articles of personal use moves in sympathy with steel. The consequence is that we have now reached a

position where American manufactured goods, which were formerly sold in Europe, can no longer find a market here because of their increased cost."

Mr. James J. Hill, the hard-working, clear-headed, and thoroughly competent railroad man—whose Anglo-Saxon breeding and American opportunities have enabled him to rise from poverty and obscurity and rank himself with the six men (Cassatt, Vanderbilt, Morgan, Hill, Harriman and Gould) who control our great railroad systems—Mr. Hill sees plainly that something has got to happen; and so he joins Mr. Vanderlip in uttering solemn warnings through the newspapers. Talking about regulating the corporations, Mr. Hill pithily remarked to a press reporter: "What is wanted is legislation preventing the watering of stock. Make that restriction and a great good will be accomplished." Then he drifted to a discussion of home and foreign trade prospects:

"He denied flatly, but deprecatingly, that, as the average person believes, the United States is the leading manufacturing nation, and is rapidly gathering to its bosom the markets of the entire world. This misapprehension, he averred, is the result of the fact that over one industrial victory the country sets up a louder shout than England, Germany or France makes over a dozen.

"The truth is," said Mr. Hill, reflectively, "that this country is losing ground in a manufacturing way, and will do very well even to hold her own markets. It is a wrong impression that we are sweeping all competitors aside. They are sweeping us aside, and why? Because of the high cost of production here. And the high cost of production is due to the growth of labor unionism and the continued strife going on among the unions as well as between the men and their employers. We can't meet the prices of German and English manufacturers and pay the wages

which the unions compel. So long as the tariff is maintained we may hold our own markets, but some day, perhaps, the people in the West—and they represent a majority of the population—will kick over; will demand that the tariff be lowered. This sentiment increases the further West one goes.

"Germany is leading the world now, and is making much swifter progress than this country or any other. England has dropped behind. Labor unions aided in killing her industrially. France is like a bee—always busy, always hustling. In France it is father and son and so on. But Germany is the country that is forging ahead. Her laborers work very cheaply; they spend sixty-six hours in the factory each week, where we spend but forty-four; and her mechanics are superior. In addition she has facilities for transporting her products from and to every part of the globe at very cheap rates. Before we can get out and compete with her in the markets of the world, we must lower the cost of producing manufactured articles, and must elevate the quality of our products.

"We are coming to a grave industrial reverse. It is hard to tell just when it will come, but it is approaching. It may come next Presidential year; and the result of it will depend largely upon who is nominated for President. The fact that money was hard last fall was a check on the wild speculation in manufacturing securities, and, no doubt, postponed the reverse which is destined to overtake us. There seems to be too much confidence in the ability of the country to walk right ahead of all other countries in manufacturing. The country can do it; but not without trouble, and not without changing its present course. It is indeed a grave crisis we are approaching, although few seem to appreciate it. A few years may see the closing of many factories and the throwing out of work of hundreds of thousands of men. We have been reaping the harvest, and the reverse is coming. How quickly we recover from it will depend largely on who is at the head of the country when the break comes."

Same old scare game—same old threat of another panic—same old "peril" of the Labor Unions—same old delusion that long hours and low wages make cheap production—same absurd notion that "England has dropped behind"—same

new and laughable belief that "Germany is leading the world." Verily, Hill is beginning to rival Carnegie as a political philosopher.

But there is one radical difference between the two. Carnegie knows exactly what he is about. He is talking, writing, giving, and still working, to a definite purpose—that of advertising himself, prodigiously and permanently, as the greatest "benefactor" that the world has ever known. On the other hand, Hill has spent his long and busy life right here at home; has made himself a master of the railroad business; has won a position of great power and great wealth as his reward; and has evidently had neither taste nor time for the study of other subjects. In consequence—he thinks and talks like a school boy when he discusses economic science and political history! If now he will read Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," Rayner's "Life of Jefferson," Prof. Demolin's "Anglo-Saxon Superiority," any good biography of John Bright ("the friend of America" in 1861-65, when we so needed friends in England), and finally, Dr. John Fiske's "Civil Government in the United States" —then Mr. Hill's clear head will probably enable him to talk as sensibly about our political problems as he always talks sensibly about the railroad business.

As to the trade union peril—Arbitration seems to be a very sensible and serviceable sort of a device! And so long as we have such men as John Mitchell, P. M. Arthur and Samuel Gompers in command of the labor forces, I fancy the Ameri-

can people will not have occasion to lie awake o' nights worrying over "the growth of trade unionism."

"Let me say at the outset, and with all possible emphasis, that I am in full accord with the Commission in its condemnation of violence and intimidation. Some of these evils are perhaps inevitable in any great labor struggle, but I have always maintained that the worst enemy of our cause is the man who resorts to lawlessness." —*John Mitchell.*

So of the delusion that high wages increase the cost of production, and the bugaboo of our inability to compete against the low wages and long hours of Continental Europe. Surely the time has come in liberty-loving America when strong men, loaded down with millions of money, can and ought to have done with this shameless vote-catching talk of "the pauper labor of Europe." No man alive knows better than Mr. Hill that American farmers, tilling their own broad acres, have long ago demonstrated that they can feed the world at a profit, can pay the highest farm wages in the world, and meanwhile carry the heaviest burden of tariff taxation in all recorded history. And they do it because they own the lands they cultivate, they work early and late, and they make every stroke of work count for the largest possible crop. In like manner American workingmen enjoy high wages solely because they do more work and produce more wealth—per man, per diem, and per hour—than any other workingmen under the sun. Carnegie knows this to be true; and since his Protection appetite for Trust-made mil-

lions has been gorged beyond desire, his eager appetite for "fame" has prompted him to make this confession in cold print:

"It is not the lowest, but the highest-paid labor, with scientific management and machinery, which gives cheapest products. Some of the important staple articles made in Britain, Germany, and America, are produced cheapest in the last, with labor paid double."

Again I appeal to plain common sense.

We are the foremost nation of the earth. We are in secure possession of a heritage of liberty and opportunity the like of which mankind has never known before. In all our history previous to the Civil War, we lived under a tariff for revenue only, with the exception of five years of Protection duties—under the Tariff of Abominations, between 1828 and 1833. Without Protection, therefore, we grew from a little band of adventurers, settling in Virginia in 1607, to a great Nation of 31,443,321 freemen in 1860. Under the Compromise Tariff of 1833, and then under the Free Trade Tariff of 1846, our iron industry was thriving as it had never thrived before, each year showing a steady advance in production; our cotton spinning industry was jubilant and boastful of a destiny to outdo the mother country; our sea commerce was the pride of the nation; American Clippers were famous the world over; and we were challenging England for first place in the volume of world wide commerce.

Then it was that the sin of Slavery, and the like sin of Protection, first cursed us with Civil War, and then further cursed us with an enormous burden of war taxes. Thus, and thus only, the Tar-

iff Wall was reared high to shut us in upon ourselves—much as the stone Wall of China shut in the Chinese. From that hour, we have lived within our national boundary lines much as though the great outer world of trade and opportunity did not exist.

And when the Civil War came to curse us, the aristocrats who govern England saw their opportunity—and straightway did precisely, and only, what was needed to destroy our splendid sea commerce. That is to say, they built the "Alabama" and other war ships, and they armed and sold them to the Southern Confederacy, with no other thought or aim than to provide the needful means *for sweeping our commerce from the seas!* Four years of civil war and naval privateering completely disarmed us as England's rival for world wide trade. The iron steamship had already begun to supplant the wooden sailing ship; Protection made iron and steel so high in cost here, as compared with free trade England, that our ship-builders found it impossible to compete; and the stupid restrictions of our still-existing navigation laws—"a manifest violation of the rights of mankind"—finished the foul work by destroying the great industry of ship-building and ship sailing, in which we had proved our capacity to excel the world.

"The Anglo-Americans have always displayed a very decided taste for the sea. The declaration of independence broke the commercial restrictions which united them to England, and gave a fresh and powerful stimulus to their maritime genius. Ever since that time the shipping of the union has increased in almost the same rapid proportion as the number of its inhabitants. The

Americans themselves now transport to their own shores nine-tenths of the European produce which they consume. And they also bring three-quarters of the exports of the new world to the European consumer. The ships of the United States fill the docks of Havre and of Liverpool, while the number of English and French vessels which are to be seen at New York is comparatively small. Thus, not only does the American merchant face competition in his own country, but he even supports that of foreign nations in their own ports with success."

—*M. de Tocqueville in 1835.*

Fortunately, however, the brave souls who fled from Europe to escape the tyranny and slavery of a "legalized" aristocracy, had lived in Europe, had traveled in Europe, and had traded with Europe. For that reason, when they met in immortal conclave, first to declare Independence, and next to enact the Constitution, this, by unanimous consent, they provided:

"No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another."

Thus they gave us the inestimable boon of absolute Free Trade among the States.

Life-long believers in Protection—men who have inherited and grown-up to that belief—undoubtedly feel that, whatever evils may be charged against Protection, it has certainly made us a great manufacturing people. But the exact contrary is the truth. Free trade—among ourselves—is what has built-up our great industries. Free trade—throughout the German Empire—is what has built-up Germany's great industries

since 1871. Free trade—with all the world—is what has built-up Britain's great industries since 1846.

In ancient times, it was free trade—upon Mediterranean waters—that enriched the Phœnicians and the Greeks. Then in Roman history, it was free trade—throughout the Empire—with continental highways supplementing sea commerce—that made Rome the greatest and richest military power in all history.

All of this is perfectly apparent to those who have taken time to study the facts; not an economist of rank who has ever written upon the subject but affirms its truth; and now that the Protection promoters have combined our manufacturing industries to enrich themselves by taxing the people through high prices, I think a very brief review of historic facts will make the truth evident to every reader.

After our Declaration of Independence in 1776, and until the adoption of the Constitution in 1788, the thirteen States were in perpetual conflict over export and import taxes as between each other. Several of the States were up to the point of actual warfare; and the exact situation is thus concisely recorded by Dr. John Fiske:

"Congress (the Continental Congress) was bankrupt; foreign nations were scoffing at us; Connecticut had barely escaped from war with Pennsylvania and New York with New Hampshire; there were riots and bloodshed in Vermont; Rhode Island seemed on the verge of civil war; Massachusetts was actually engaged in suppressing armed rebellion; Connecticut and New Jersey were threatening commercial non-intercourse with New York.

Spain was defying us at the mouth of the Mississippi; and a party in Virginia was entertaining the idea of a separate Southern confederacy."

"The policy of local high tariffs directed against the neighboring states had been temporarily successful, although it was already threatening New York with a war."

"The jealousy between large and small states was more bitter than it is now possible for us to realize. * * * * It was in a solemn mood that our statesmen assembled in Philadelphia; and the first question to be settled, one that must be settled before any further work could be done, was the way in which power was to be shared between the states and the general government."

Now if we wish to know exactly what has made us a great manufacturing people—we need only turn to the Rectorial Address delivered by Andrew Carnegie at St. Andrews University, near Edinburgh, Scotland, on Oct. 22, 1902, when that "staunch Protectionist" donned his honors as "Lord Rector." In this address Mr. Carnegie said:

"The American has a constantly expanding home demand, urging him to extensions, and justifying costly improvements and the adoption of new processes. He has also a continent under one government. He establishes his several works at the centres of the various markets. If a needed ingredient be found in one State, another somewhere else; if it be desirable to construct works for one part of a process here, or there, or ply ships, or build railroads in any part of this broad area, he proceeds without hesitation, dreading neither interference with supplies, hostile legislation, nor national antipathies. 'No pent-up Utica contracts his powers:' more the boundless continent is his, as are all its markets, *free from tariff. His operations are free from start to finish.*

"The result is that every process of manufacture in the Union *flows naturally to the localities best adapted for it*, there being no barriers to free selection. The best places also are selected for assembling materials, raw or partially prepared, for their

final forms. *In short, it is free, unrestricted trade in everything under the same conditions, same laws, same flag, and free markets everywhere over an expanding continent—advantages which only those experienced in industrial trade will estimate at their full value.*

"The European manufacturer finds obstacles to such varied expansion in a continent divided into hostile and warring States, with different laws and exactions *and tariffs at every boundary*, the fear of war overhanging all. He is almost compelled to confine his investments and works to the small area of his own country and its small home market."

Then straightway this "staunch Protectionist" cites Germany as another country in which absolute free trade among the States has produced the same inevitable results—in the brief time since Bismarck did his great work in abolishing her little rival States, with their separate tariff laws; and especially, since he gave her a uniform currency based securely upon gold. Speaking of Germany "Lord Rector" Carnegie says:

"As long as she was cut up into petty divisions, *with different laws and tariffs*, she had no international position industrially—it was impossible she could have. United into one empire, *with free trade over the whole area*, giving a home market of 56,000,000 people, she only needed to encourage the development of her resources, which was wise statesmanship (*observe the shrewd, pocket-interest qualification!*) to become the dangerous rival of Britain, and even to outstrip her in the most important article of all, steel.

"The coming century is to look back upon the present petty political divisions of Europe with the feelings we of to-day entertain for the one hundred and fourteen little States of Germany and their pygmy monarchs of the past century, *with their thirty-four tariff barriers to commerce and travel on the Rhine, resembling the Likin of China.*

"More and more clearly must the truth be realized that the industrial struggle among the nations is *bound up with the political*, the question of magnitude being at the bottom of supremacy

in both. A nation cannot be small in size and in population and remain great in material products or material power. To maintain first rank industrially, commercially or financially, small nations must merge with others and become prosperous parts of one great federated power. Once the race was between separate nations; henceforth it is between continents.

"Ask yourself this question: If America had been composed of petty, independent, jealous States, as Europe is, each afraid of the other, and armed to the teeth against expected attack, and *had erected tariff barriers against the products of each other,* would Europe ever have heard of the American Industrial Invasion? To ask the question is to answer it—never.

"Ask yourselves another question. Can Europe, as long as she remains divided into hostile camps, ever hope to conquer foreign markets or even to repel the American invasion? That question also answers itself—never."

Of course "Lord Rector" Carnegie's pocket-interest inspired him, throughout a long and prodigiously profitable career among us, to teach that a Chinese wall of Protection about *our* seacoasts and boundaries was the part of "wise statesmanship"—to preserve our precious "home market," West of the Alleghenies, for his harvest of millions. In like manner, to present a show of consistency, he reasons that Germany "only needed to encourage the development of her resources" —to enable her to rival us in Trusts and syndicates. But France and her forty millions of fighting freemen, with their Greek-like record in philosophy, literature and art, and with her truly marvelous record of great inventions—France has tried Protection to no purpose. And Russia, with her more than one hundred millions of Caucasians, and her matchless and immeasurable resources—Russia has tried Protection all in vain.

We further know, as Carnegie knows, admits, and glories in the fact, that Cobden and Bright—untitled, poor, hard-working and plain-spoken patriots that they were—WON IMMORTALITY FOR THEMSELVES BY OVERTHROWING PROTECTION AND GIVING THEIR NATIVE LAND THE PRICELESS BLESSING OF FREE TRADE. Knowing this, Carnegie, the "staunch Protectionist," has not one word to say in favor of Protection *for Britain*—where he was born, and where, naturally, he prefers to live and die. No, no; Protection is for America—where he has made millions through the "patriotic" system of taxing the many to enrich the few. And so when "Lord Rector" Carnegie talks to his home audience about the true secrets of manufacturing progress and supremacy—he tells them the truth! Here is what he says:

"In studying the manufacturing world, Britain claimed more attention than all other nations together, *for here was the seat and throne of manufactures.* We examine the globe and note how much is marked red under the Union Jack, and speculate upon what would be left if this were obliterated. But if in viewing the world's material development we should consider what would be left *if her inventions were deleted*, a greater void still would be found in this nobler field of conquest, for this island has also been the seat and throne of invention, the work, not of the barbarous sword, but of the brain of civilized man. That development rests upon the steam-engine of Watt, one arm of which embraced the sea through the steamship of Symington,* another covered the land through the locomotive of Stephenson. Here is the great triad which has created the modern material world. This audience will not fail to note with satisfaction that all of these magicians were Scotch (the first two native-born, the last by descent)—a remarkable fact, and not to

*Did ever mortal man see so brazen an attempt to rob Fulton of the honor which he won, in demonstrating practically the utility and immeasurable value of the steam engine when applied to navigation?

be readily accounted for except upon an hypothesis which national modesty prevents a born Scot from suggesting here in the presence of so many distinguished members of other nations. Arkwright, Hargreaves, and Cartwright, *through their inventions*, brought economical spinning and weaving of textiles; those of Nelson and Cort, cheap iron; Bessemer, Siemens, Martin and Thomas, cheap steel, the most important article of all, since it is the basis of so many other articles. *It is the inventions of these men based upon steam that have revolutionized the conditions of human life upon the earth;* and, in passing, will you be good enough to note how many of these, and indeed of the supremely great in other fields as well, have at first worked with their hands? Whatever the future may have in store, nothing can rob Britain of the credit of having given to the world the means for its surprising development. Material Progress is Britain's child. At the time of which I speak, she was the only important manufacturing nation, for here naturally her inventions were first utilized. The reward obtained from this monopoly—for such it was—made her the richest of all peoples *per capita*. Her realized wealth is still unequaled. Forty-odd years ago she made more iron and steel, manufactured more machinery, mined more coal, wove more cloth, than all the rest of the world. It was Britain in the one scale, the world in the other, the world kicking the beam. In the dawn of this prosperity came Cobden and Bright, who insured cheaper food for the workers, which further stimulated manufacturing and insured Britain's preëminence. The theories of these great men and their school were justified in their day, one being that the various nations of the world were created with different qualities and resources, all so beautifully arranged that one was to supplement the other. Britain's destined part clearly was to manufacture the raw materials of other lands. Interchange of raw and finished and of different products, was evidently Nature's intention, thus uniting the nations in the noble task of supplying each other's wants. Nations were destined to be coöperating parts in one grand whole, and thus Commerce became the golden chain to bind the world in bonds of peace and goodwill. There was only one flaw in the entrancing theory, but that was fatal—the various members were not satisfied with the parts assigned to them in the beneficent drama. On the contrary, each evinced the strongest desire to develop its

resources and manufacture its own raw materials as far as possible. None relished being the mere hewers of wood and drawers of water to another nation: all wanted to play Hamlet, and as is usual in the most talented companies of performers, all believed themselves destined by nature for the great part. *There came to the aid of the new, ambitious lands automatic machinery and scientific methods which largely solved the question of skilled labor.* A few managing Britons, or Americans, can now readily be obtained to establish manufactures in any part of the world, and educate the natives to become satisfactory workers."

And so he wanders on, preaching Protection for America and Free Trade for Britain, in the amazing delusion that thinking men do not see through him; and in the more amazing delusion that it will be possible for his millions of *godless, Protection-made* money to literally buy for cash, the love and gratitude of mankind.

Now let us be sensible, fearless, and free!

American manufacturers absolutely know that they can produce cheaper in the United States than in any other country under the sun—*provided always, that they can buy the staple materials of production at reasonable prices.* In simple truth, our manufacturers have no more need for Protection than a candidate for Congress has need for a baby's bottle. We have passed the infant's stage in both politics and industry. We mean to have done with this tomfoolery of parading a political platform of "infant industries" needing a nursing bottle. What our manufacturers now need and want, is to be rid of the extortionate prices which the combinations and Trusts exact for iron and steel, for copper and brass, for tin and lead—*for each and every article in the entire list of materials entering into manufacture.*

And to insure reasonable prices for these staples of modern specialized production, what they further need, and what they have often voted for, is free raw material—free iron ore, free coal, free oil, free copper, free lead, free lumber, free hides, free wool, and free everything that is drawn from mother earth, Nature's bounty to mankind!

The student of political and economic history can see plainly enough that the wave of depression which lately overspread all Europe, while we have been phenomenally prosperous, was due wholly to the advent of the United States as a world power—due specifically to fear of our competition, and dread of the political disturbances certain to follow at home should that competition press hard. We need, therefore, *to now take careful note of these facts:* Europe is armed to the teeth. She has a total of 410 warships to our 35. "Self preservation is the first law of nature." Russia and Germany are already fighting us with tariffs. Austria and Hungary are preparing to do so. Protection sentiment is struggling hard to take fresh root throughout all Britain—*as the direct result of our sinful example.* The smaller European power are near akin to the greater. "Nations like individuals are governed by their interest." They will fight us with tariffs first; and later, they will fight us with armies and navies as surely as the sun shines,—especially if we dare attempt to ruin their industries and periodically impoverish their patient workers by making Europe a "dumping ground for our surplus," as Lord Rector Carnegie so cunningly advocates in defense of Protection.

Plainly, it is fight or fair play.

There is no need of fighting, and every interest now prompts fair play. But, obviously, if we are to enjoy the blessings of peace and fair trading, there is pressing need for prompt action. For even the dullest mind now understands that politics lie back of all business, *as well as all wars.* Life-long believers in Protection see plainly that selfish interest inspires those who continue to preach so senseless and dangerous a policy. Every thinking man knows that we can not go on with this stupid system of manufacturing Trust-made millionaires *through taxing ourselves and dumping our surplus upon fighting freemen in Europe.* That is Carnegie philosophy; but it is the most inhuman, brutal, and senseless philosophy that any man has ever dared to teach. It outrages every sentiment of fairness among the millions of European freemen who admire us, and would fain be our friends—aiding steadily in the work of promoting our trade and our ideas among their kindred at home. Beyond that, it teaches Americans the absurdity that there is no profit in foreign trade. In the light of England's experience, which we know, and in the light of our own experience, which we have simply forgotten—that is a teaching so senseless as to be unworthy of consideration.

We live in a scientific age. Men's minds have just begun to awake to the infinite wealth-producing possibilities of mechanical power. We live at a time when our foremost manufacturers have

demonstrated beyond denial that all the secrets of cheap production are to be found *in the simple process of substituting machinery for hand labor.* We now know, beyond peradventure, that in automatic machinery operated by skilled mechanics at high wages, and in specialized production under enlightened systems of management and distribution, we have the complete explanation of all enduring and great success.

We have lately learned, also, that America is the home and abiding place of mechanical invention. We have demonstrated that our mechanics lead the world in originating automatic and semi-automatic machinery which is essentially practical—which does the work. Our progress in this branch of economic production has been, and is, so rapid as to astonish and alarm all Europe. *And this fact affords a complete explanation of why foreign engineers, foreign manufacturers, and foreign delegations have been visiting our factories and hungrily studying our methods during recent years.*

It is, in truth, the inventors and engineers who have revolutionized industry, who have annihilated distance, who have made the world a neighborhood, and who will emancipate us from pauperism and all fear of dependence upon charity, if we simply have courage and common sense enough to liberate our industries from the burden of tariff taxes—because they add enormously to the cost of production; liberate our commerce from tariff restrictions—because they hamper and hold back our vast and growing foreign trade; and lib-

erate our finances from Trust promoters—because their sole purpose is to enrich themselves at the whole people's heavy cost.

For the time being, conditions of unexampled prosperity born of our definite adoption of the single gold standard, coupled with last year's *reaction from boom conditions* in Germany and on the Continent, have checked the flood of orders from Europe. But the check is obviously temporary. Germany's financial soundness has never been questioned, and already she is on the up-grade—already signs of her industrial recovery are many and unmistakable. England has ended the Boer War. The work of settlement and industrial development in South Africa is fairly under way. Peace has been restored to the Philippines. The integrity of the Chinese Empire is pledged in writing—and Russia will keep faith if we insist upon it. Japan, the marvel of the modern world—now the acknowledged ally of Great Britain—is at the gateway of the East to guard, to inspire, and to lead in the industrial reawakening of Five Hundred Millions of the industrious Mongolian race. Lastly, the Isthmian Canal is to be built.

In a few words, the world is at peace.

And with peace assured, *through simple fair dealing with our European neighbors,* men of foresight in banking, commercial and industrial pursuits see plainly that we have entered upon an era of industrial development, at home and abroad, the like of which mankind has surely never seen before. All

we now need is to put our political household in order. And the next step in that direction, is to elect a President and a Congress who will be faithfully pledged to a platform demanding the immediate repeal of the Dingley duties on raw materials and all staple articles, like iron, steel, copper, tin, lead, etc., which enter into the cost of specialized manufacturing industry; and beyond that, every duty that lays a needless tax upon the daily necessaries of the people.

In presenting these changes in our tariff system so that they will appeal irresistibly to the common sense, the prudence, the patriotism, and the fairness of the men who have made American institutions possible, all we need do is turn to "our friends the enemy" for suggestions. Lord Rector Carnegie wrote an essay in 1895 entitled "What would I do with the Tariff if I were Czar?" This essay now forms the last chapter in "The Empire of Business," a book which can doubtless be found in every "public" library—especially if that "public" library be boldly branded Carnegie, under a shrewd contract to maintain it forever *through taxing the people for its support:*

> "Oh, that mine adversary had written a book!"

On page 332 of this book, we find the following advice—which will now afford far more comfort to American tariff-reformers than to the few scheming millionaires and politicians for whom it was shrewdly intended:

"Tariff duties as follows were collected in 1892 on foreign importations of the luxuries of the rich:

Wool manufactures	$32,293,609
Silk manufactures	16,965,637
Cotton manufactures	16,436,733
Flax manufactures	10,066,636
Glass and china	10,339,000
Wines, liquors, etc	8,935,000
Tobacco and cigars	11,882,557

"Here are $106,000,000 of revenue from seven classes of luxuries, and there are a few others which netted more than $8,000,000 additional—jewelry, carriages, artificial flowers, clocks, brushes, paper, perfumeries, musical instruments—making $114,000,000 revenue collected from imports out of the total of $177,000,000. To reduce duties upon articles which are all luxuries of the rich, furnishing two-thirds of the whole tariff revenue, is the chief result of the Wilson act.

"The statement cannot be disputed that these articles were not imported for the use of the masses of the people. With woolen manufactures, as those of silk, the masses of the people of the United States are supplied by the home manufacturer almost exclusively. The only class which uses imported cloths, and foreign glass and china, and foreign wines and tobacco, is the rich. To prevent the charge being made that the articles used to any extent by the masses might be made dearer by the increased duties, the bill should provide that woolen, silk and linen cloths of common grades should be exempt from the higher duties. Substantially none but the high grades is imported, but this clause would disarm criticism. Had even the duties of 1892 been retained upon these luxuries of the few, the present deficiency in the revenues would have been much less than now disturbs the national exchequer. We have here a rich mine, indeed, which should be drawn from when the next tariff legislation is undertaken. Were the duties upon these luxuries doubled, and another $114,000,000 collected, or if the increased taxes diminished consumption by one-fourth and the Government obtained but half the increase, as it still would in that extreme case, then we would have taken, say, $57,000,000 of taxation from the shoulders of the toiling masses and placed it upon those of the luxurious, pleasure-loving, extravagant class who can be

made to pay for their extravagance with benefit to themselves and to the nation. If 50 per cent. additional duty were tried, the revenues would soon be increased to almost the whole of the extra tax. This is neither protection nor free trade, and has nothing to do with either. It is simply a question of revenue. And it is submitted that in no way can the necessary revenue be so wisely obtained as from foreign luxuries consumed only by the rich and most extravagant class of the people. My tariff would about double present duties upon all these luxuries."

We need not concern ourselves with Carnegie's reflections upon Wilson. That patriot's work is in print—and history will take care of Wilson! Never fear. The important point for us, is to note that Carnegie's pocket interest was outraged first by the McKinley bill and then later by the Wilson bill. For that reason he permitted the awful Homestead strike in 1892; he fled to his home in Europe, leaving Mr. Frick to do the dangerous work which he planned before running away; and then, in the aforesaid essay, he wrote what follows—to show McKinley and Hanna that he did not intend to submit to their policy of giving cheaper raw materials *to his Eastern competitors in the manufacture of iron and steel:*

"In regard to coal and iron ore, so-called raw materials, the new tariff *should make no further reductions,* because a reduction of nearly one-half of the duty at one time, just made, is serious, and time is needed before any industry can adjust itself to so great a change. Besides, the tax of forty cents per ton upon ore and thirty cents per ton upon coal is comparatively trifling. This applies to iron and steel generally, which have suffered two reductions recently; for the McKinley act reduced these as much as the Wilson act did—about 30 per cent. in each case. Making cotton-ties free of duty when all other forms of steel were left dutiable is the greatest blot upon the present tariff—a piece of pure sectionalism, the bane of the Federal system. *One-half of the former duty should be restored.*"

"Although I am opposed to taxing the food and the necessaries of the people, *I should make an exception in regard to the products of Canada.* * * * * I should *tax highly all her products* entering the United States; and this I should do, not in dislike of Canada, but for love of her, in the hope that it would cause her to realize that the nations upon this Continent are American nations. * * * * I should use the rod not in anger but in love; but I should use it."

Now observe his fine play. Thirty-four years and one month of high Protection—from February, 1861, when the Morrill bill was enacted, to March, 1895, when he was writing—had put the *Eastern manufacturers of iron and steel entirely within Carnegie's competitive power*—because of the senseless duties and heavy freights they have been forced to pay on raw materials. He could now afford to assume an air of generous indifference to the duties on "*so-called* raw materials." But the Great Lakes region had become the center and source of iron ore supplies. Canada is probably as rich in iron ore as we are. James J. Hill has already located priceless deposits. The St. Lawrence river, the Great Lakes and the Canadian railroads were, and are, there to transport this rich iron ore to any and every point where it could be used to compete with the Carnegie Steel Company—West of the Alleghany mountains, as well as to Niagara Falls and all points on the Atlantic Seaboard. So Carnegie would "make an *exception* in regard to the products of *Canada;*" he would "*tax highly all her products*"—for obvious reasons! Beyond this, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, under Mr. Cassatt's wise

management, was beginning to threaten trouble over the *preferential freight rates* which Carnegie has always enjoyed!

Now we are getting close home—Now we shall see how the tariff, the Trusts, and the railroads, are inseparably linked by "community-of-interest"—Now we shall see that Carnegie knew how to beat his competitors through lower freight rates, just as rebates and drawbacks enabled Rockefeller to beat his competitors in oil back in the seventies—And now we shall see precisely how Carnegie FORCED THE FORMATION OF THE STEEL TRUST.

At the time the Steel Trust was in process of organization, the well-informed Pittsburg correspondent of the New York *Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin* sent this interesting piece of information to his paper:

"Whatever the exact shape that the financial transaction may take there is no doubt whatever that it represents the termination of a battle between modern financial giants. The contest may be said to have grown out of the 'community of interest' idea or policy which is now controlling the railroads. It started its most serious stage as a result of the Pennsylvania Railroad's policy, instituted in a radical form by President Cassatt, of refusing cut rates in all directions, regardless of whether the shippers were large or small. Mr. Carnegie had been used to receiving favorable rates—lower rates than any of his competitors—under an old agreement, and he resented Mr. Cassatt's firmness. The latter, however, refused to renew the old contract. Mr. Carnegie appealed to Mr. Morgan without success, and found himself bottled up, as it were, in Pittsburg, *with transportation facilities no more advantageous than those of his smaller competitors.* This was a situation to which a man of his capital, nerve and energy could not be expected to quietly submit, and the next thing heard was that he had purchased acres upon acres on the Lake front and had made definite plans to strike at Mr. Morgan's steel inter-

ests at their most vulnerable point; namely, by building an enormous, up-to-date tube plant. Not only did Mr. Carnegie do this, but he went about it in a practical way and seriously, apparently, in acquiring control of railroad property, with the fixed determination of securing his own road to tidewater. It was a question of fighting a determined man who had ample capital and general resources and it was acknowledged that a contest under such conditions would mean the loss of millions. Mr. Cassatt then capitulated and decided to make concessions in rates for Mr. Carnegie, *but the latter continued his belligerent policy*, and, it appears, convinced Mr. Morgan's associates in the steel business that the only way he could be harmonized *was to be bought out.* Mr. Carnegie was perfectly willing to be bought out *at his own valuation* of his property and has apparently convinced Mr. Morgan that the valuation is not excessive."

I think I am entirely safe in predicting that Mr. Cassatt, Mr. Morgan, and, later on, every stockholder in the Steel Trust, will join me in saying that Carnegie's "literature" upon the tariff and the Trust question, is precisely what has made America rich in fighting—and winning—FREE TRADERS! We are now so bountifully supplied with Skibo Castle "literature," and Carnegie has made such a spectacle of himself as an advocate of Protection and a beneficiary of the Trusts, that I know every man of our faith feels that he would like to blazon Free Trade on a banner and go forth giving battle in the open to the scheming beneficiaries of Protection. But go slowly, my brethren. I am too earnest, too honest, and too fearless a free trader—far too sure of an early victory for absolute free trade, to share any responsibility for so radical a policy at present.

"What wound did ever heal but by degrees?"

"Let's teach ourselves that honorable stop,
Not to outsport discretion."

There are thousands of us who see the light, who know the right, and who are full eager to follow it. But as against our thousands, there are millions of voters who do not yet see the light; who have grown up under Protection; and who have had no time to read free trade literature and no opportunity to hear free trade speeches. Every man of them is just as honest, just as earnest, and just as ready to do battle for the right as we dare be. In their interest, and in our own interest, we must never hesitate, *as individual free traders*, to openly avow our honest convictions, and to teach the simple truth upon every possible occasion—for "equivocation will undo us." But we are now talking of *a party platform;* we are now considering definite legislation; and we know that the assent of millions of unconverted voters is necessary to the success of our party and the enactment of sorely needed tariff reform legislation. Once more let us bear in mind the sage advice of the wisest of statesmen and the greatest of party leaders:

"I have never conceived that having been in public life requires me to belie my sentiments, or even to conceal them."

"A government held together by the bands of reason only, requires much compromise of opinion; that things even salutary should not be crammed down the throats of dissenting brethren."

—*Thomas Jefferson.*

The entering wedge, of clean-cut and well-seasoned Old Hickory, driven home with a Lincoln maul, should be a demand for free raw materials; duty-free staples that enter into productive industry; and the removal of every needless tariff tax that reaches into the pockets of our farmers

and workingmen! That is enough to begin with. And such a platform will win so many voters, and *make so much prosperity for the whole people;* that the rest will follow, step by step, as surely as fate, if we fight true to Jefferson's logic and leadership.

Furthermore, if we confine our tariff taxes to "foreign luxuries consumed only by the rich and most extravagant class," that will afford a formidable array of "protected" home industries for the reassuring consolation of life-long believers in Protection who are too old and "too set in their ways" to change their opinions quickly. Besides, those tariff taxes will furnish needed revenue wherewith to pay the bills of our Billion and a Half Congress—until such time as we have opportunity to demonstrate anew what Jeffersonian simplicity and economy really mean in the administration of our national government.

To meet the deficiency in revenue which will result from the removal of the duties indicated, we must have a graduated Income Tax. This is, of course, not a part of "Lord Rector" Carnegie's program. On page 338 of the above essay he tells us:

"There would be no income tax. I know of no statesman or authority who does not denounce an income tax as the most objectionable of all taxes. Mr. Gladstone once appealed to the country upon this subject alone, denouncing it as tending to make a nation of liars. While it is in theory a just tax, in practice it is the source of such demoralization as renders it perhaps the most pernicious form of taxation which has ever been conceived since human society has settled into peaceful government. Any measure is justifiable in time of war, but the only excuse for an income tax is imperative necessity. There is at

present no such necessity. The Government revenues must soon produce a surplus over expenditures, if from no other cause than the increase of population and wealth, and they can be made to do so now, as previously pointed out, by taxing higher only the extravagances of the few."

But the English people refused to take Gladstone's advice—as we shall refuse to take Carnegie's. For full forty long years the whole American people—especially our farmers and workingmen—have been carrying the heavy burden of national taxation. Both the war debt and the honorable pension roll are still with us. The time has come to shift the burden. Law, equity, precedent, and simple justice demand it. We can take our chances with making "a nation of liars." And we shall lessen the chances by confining the tax to the few who enjoy large incomes—especially the very few who draw princely and regal incomes from the millions made in promoting Trusts, and the multi-millions made through the monopoly of franchises granted by the people for railroads, pipe lines, and all public utilities.

No man or woman whose income is below $2,000 a year should pay one penny of the tax. Between $2,000 and $3,000 the tax should be very light. Then it should rise in geometrical progression—safely to the point of filling the gap and paying the bills of our Protection and Trust-Promoting Congress. And every dollar of the just taxation so collected, should be applied specifically, by letter of the law, to the payment of pensions and the steady discharge of our war debt. The English income tax law is an admirable model, and other

helpful hints can be drawn from Germany, France, Belgium, Russia, and other Continental countries.

"Another means of silently lessening the inequality of property is to exempt all from taxation below a certain point and to tax the higher portions of property in geometrical progression as they rise." —*Thomas Jefferson.*

If the rich attempt to evade the tax through lying, as Carnegie intimates, we shall quickly find a way to deal with them. Prison bars and yellow journals will take care of the liars. And after the American people have squarely declared for such a tax, by a majority vote at the ballot box, if there be profound jurists on the Supreme bench, or any able Wall Street lawyers, who undertake to defeat the people's will, I fancy that a people's President in the White House and a people's Congress at the Capitol will find a way to deal with them—in strict accordance with the Constitution, and without the slightest disturbance in the process of collection.

To see how surely such a platform would commend itself to the sound judgment of our people, and to see how invincible it would be at the ballot box—we need only glance back at the history of the tariff question in American politics.

We squarely repudiated Protection in 1800 when we elected Jefferson. We repudiated it in 1828 when we elected Andrew Jackson over John Quincy Adams. We repudiated it by a smashing majority when we again elected Jackson in 1832 over Henry Clay, the Prince Rupert of Protection. John Tyler immortalized himself in the Presidential office by his courageous vetoes of

Protection measures. Walker is a name which will now loom large in history, because his leadership gave us the inestimable boon of "the Free Trade Tariff of 1846." On October 11, 1859, Lincoln wrote: "We old Whigs have been entirely beaten out on the tariff question." In 1868, no less a man than John Sherman wrote this:

"Every advance towards a free exchange of commodities is an advance in civilization; every obstruction to a free exchange is born of the same narrow, despotic spirit which planted castles upon the Rhine to plunder peaceful commerce; every obstruction to commerce is a tax upon consumption; every facility to a free exchange cheapens commodities, increases trade and population, and promotes civilization."

In 1876 we fairly elected Tilden on a platform of "tariff for revenue only." In 1880 an overwhelming majority of the American people voted for Hancock, Weaver and others, as against Garfield—who was elected by "blocks of five," which gave him a plurality vote of the States. In 1884 we elected Cleveland over "the Plumed Knight" of the Protection hosts. In 1888 Cleveland polled 98,017 votes more than Harrison. In 1890 we deluged the McKinley bill with repudiation in the form of a phenomenal Democratic majority in Congress. In the year 1892 William McKinley made this public admission:

"If we had the power to do away with it (the tariff) altogether, it would be the policy of Republicans and Democrats alike. But we cannot do that, for so long as we have a government we must have revenue."

In 1892 we triumphantly elected Cleveland on a platform of tariff reform and sound money. In

1896, and again in 1900, Free Silver elected McKinley. And in the last speech that he delivered, McKinley himself said this:

"Our capacity to produce has developed so enormously and our products have so multiplied that the problem of more markets requires our urgent and immediate attention. In these times of marvellous business energy and gain, we ought to be looking to the future—strengthening the weak places in our industrial and commercial systems, that we may be ready for any storm or strain.

"What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have a vent abroad.

"The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem.

"We have a vast and intricate business built up through years of toil and struggle, in which every part of the country has its stake, and which will not permit of either neglect or undue selfishness.

"No narrow, sordid policy will subserve it."

In the light of this oft-repeated, persistent, insistent, and grimly determined repudiation of Protection, throughout more than a century of time, how is it longer possible for sane men to question the will of the American people?

Now let us look at Cleveland's record.

Too many thinking and reading Americans have forgotten what was written in that famous Tariff Reform Message of 1887. I think we all appreciate the priceless public service Mr. Cleveland rendered us in the repeal of the Sherman Silver Coinage law. I am sure that every student of American history rightly estimates the incalculable value of his new and necessary interpretation of the Constitution in 1894—which gave us unquestionable control of inter-state commerce. And I know that already, among European

statesmen at least, the Venezuelan Message ranks among the greatest of our state papers. Now that we are again face to face with the tariff issue; now that the next Presidential contest must be fought-out upon that issue; and now that the Democratic party must re-assert its time-honored principles, *or again face certain defeat*—I am sure it will profit us to here recall what Mr. Cleveland penned from the White House in 1887, while the Trust scheme was in the making:

"The discontent of the employed is due, in a large degree, to the grasping and heedless exactions of employers."

"Those who toil for daily wages are beginning to understand that capital, though sometimes vaunting its importance and clamoring for the protection and favor of the Government, is dull and sluggish until, touched by the magical hand of labor, it springs into activity. And the laboring man is thoughtfully inquiring whether, in these circumstances and considering the tribute he constantly pays into the public treasury as he supplies his daily wants, he receives his fair share of advantage. There is also a suspicion abroad that the surplus of our revenues indicates abnormal and exceptional business profits, which under the system which produces such a surplus, increase, without corresponding benefit to the people at large, the vast accumulations of a few among our citizens, whose fortunes, rivaling the wealth of the most favored in anti-democratic nations, are not the natural growth of a steady, plain, and industrious republic."

"Our cities are the abiding places of wealth and luxury; our manufactories yield fortunes never dreamed of by the fathers of the republic; our business men are madly striving in the race for riches, and the immense aggregations of capital outrun the imagination in the magnitude of their undertakings. Upon a more careful inspection we find the wealth and luxury of our cities mingled with poverty and wretchedness and unremunerative toil. We discover that the fortunes realized by our manufacturers are no longer solely the reward of sturdy industry and enlightened foresight, but that they result from the discriminating favor of the Government, and are largely built upon undue exactions from

the masses of our people. The gulf between employers and employed is constantly widening, and classes are rapidly forming, one comprising the very rich and powerful, while in another are found the toiling poor. As we view the achievements of aggregated capital we discover the existence of Trusts, combinations, and monopolies, while the citizen is struggling far in the rear, or is trampled to death under an iron heel."

Again, in his speech at Tremont Temple, Boston, in October, 1891, he said this:

"Our consumers, those of moderate means and the poor of the land, are too much neglected in our national policy; their life is made too hard for them, and too much favor is shown to pampered manufacturers and rich monopolies."

In 1892, after he had been re-nominated upon a platform of Sound Money and Tariff Reform; and after the American people had been outraged by the Homestead strike—which Carnegie planned, permitted, and ran away from—then it was that Mr. Cleveland said what follows, at Madison Square Garden, July 20, 1892:

"Our working men are still told the tale, oft repeated in spite of its demonstrated falsity, that the existing Protective tariff is a boon to them, and that under its beneficent operation their wages must increase; while, as they listen, scenes are enacted in the very abiding place of high Protection that mock the hopes of toil and attest the tender mercy the workingman receives from *those made selfish and sordid by unjust governmental favoritism.*"

Then during our last Congressional campaign, in a notable speech delivered at Morristown, New Jersey, in October, 1902, Mr. Cleveland said this:

"Never within my observation or experience has there been a time *when tariff reform should be more earnestly, persistently, and honestly pressed than now.*

"A tariff for protection as its chief object is at all times and

in every feature of it an unjust and unfair burden upon the masses of our people; the bold and arrogant developments of its unfairness and injustice, and the new directions they have taken, ought to specially arrest the attention *and apprehension of every citizen.*

"The advance growth of the arrogance and greediness of tariff beneficiaries, and the kindness shown to them by the friends of the tariff, demonstrate how confidently they rely upon the continuance of *the people's credulity.*

"A high tariff protects the Trusts from foreign competition, and by agreed association and confederacy in production and price they defend themselves against competition at home. Is it not true that to all other reasons for a reform in our tariff laws there is added *the birth and growth of their cruel and unmerciful progeny of Trusts?*"

I have no personal acquaintance with Grover Cleveland, and absolutely no personal design in connection with him. I judge the man precisely as thousands of other well-informed Americans who do not know him must now judge him. But I have watched his public career closely; I have studied his writings critically; and I have satisfied myself that the secret of his popularity, and the explanation of his success, are to be found in the soundness and courage of his convictions. In early life he seems to have formed Democratic convictions; later in life he evidently confirmed those convictions by study of American history; and wherever called to public service, he has had the manly courage to think, to act, and to bravely write, in the interest of the whole people, as opposed to the interest of any special class.

His would-be rivals now boldly charge him with designs for another candidacy, and the evidence is ample that many thousands of disinterested Americans would gladly welcome an oppor-

tunity to once more entrust the sceptre of power to his well-tried judgment and oft-tried loyalty to democratic principles of government. What his intentions may be, I have no means of knowing. But I would be faithless to the duty which every citizen owes to a courageous public official if I omitted from these pages a record of the splendid public services he has rendered; and beyond that, I would be faithless to my creed as a Jeffersonian Democrat if I did not point-out what he has written and done—*within the recollection of every man who lives and thinks*—to prove the power and influence of sound Democratic teaching.

Grover Cleveland has won his offices and his honors solely because he rings true to the American system of representative government by majority vote of fighting freemen—solely because he proved himself faithful to "government of the people by the people and for the people," as opposed to the system which *taxes the many to enrich the few*. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Tyler, Lincoln, and Tilden—every man of them won enduring honor for identically the same reason! The record these great men left us is the common heritage of all our people. Every fighter who feels power within himself, needs but turn to the printed pages telling what these men thought—and did—to find sure direction for effective work in advancing the science of government. Each and all of them bettered the conditions of the generations living in their time—not only in America, but throughout all Europe as well; for every advance in the gov-

ernmental systems of Europe since the hour of our Declaration of Independence, can be traced straight back to the thought and work of the truly great men I have named. Grover Cleveland knows this to be true; and because he knows it—because his forefathers bred into him the courage to stand for what he knows to be right—he now occupies a position of great influence and great responsibility. What his ambition and plans are, is with me a mere matter of conjecture. But whatever they may be, life's lessons long ago taught me that no individual man—living, or ever yet to live—can change the course which our fighting fathers have marked out, *and which we now mean to follow.* The one and only thing needful is, that patriotic Americans, with power to think and do, shall now make a serious and determined business, first, of writing a clearly-worded and concise platform setting forth our intentions; and then nominating on that platform two candidates *who can be trusted* to faithfully enact, into statute law, the known will of the American people upon the subject of Tariff Reform.

And in doing this needful work, let us have done with tricksters, trimmers, and *little* men who take counsel of *their fears.* Our Revolutionary fathers proved the mettle of which they were made by declaring, and winning, rebellion against unjust taxation. Fifty years later, Andrew Jackson, THE BORN FIGHTER—the President who taught us how to preserve Union without senseless resort to warfare among ourselves—the freeman who personified the genius of our race and our in-

stitutions—the patriot who never desired or considered any other thought than to advance the happiness of his kindred and his kind—the soldier who lived to write, in deeds of valor and in words of dauntless conviction, one of the proudest pages in all human history—it was Andrew Jackson who penned the Farewell Message which I quote below:

"THE CORPORATIONS AND WEALTHY INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE ENGAGED IN LARGE MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS, DESIRE A HIGH TARIFF TO INCREASE THEIR GAINS. DESIGNING POLITICIANS WILL SUPPORT IT TO CONCILIATE THEIR FAVOR AND TO OBTAIN THE MEANS FOR PROFUSE EXPENDITURE FOR THE PURPOSE OF PURCHASING INFLUENCE IN OTHER QUARTERS. DO NOT ALLOW YOURSELVES, MY FELLOW CITIZENS, TO BE MISLED IN THIS SUBJECT. IT IS A SYSTEM OF INJUSTICE, AND IF PERSISTED IN WILL LEAD TO CORRUPTION AND MUST END IN RUIN."

—*Andrew Jackson.*

THE REGULATION OF INTER-STATE COMMERCE.

"Industrial enterprises whose only industry is in running printing presses to print shares of stock."

—*James J. Hill.*

"No service which the Government undertakes can be more useful, and no duty which rests upon it is more imperative, than to secure for the public, always, and everywhere, equal treatment by every railway carrier."

—*Martin A. Knapp, Chairman.*

"The facts developed upon that investigation [of the Chicago packing houses], and upon a previous investigation into the movement of grain and grain products, are of such a character that no thoughtful person can contemplate them with indifference. That the leading traffic officials of many of the principal railway lines, men occupying high positions and charged with the most important duties, shoud deliberately violate the statute law of the land, and agree with each other to do so; that it should be thought by them necessary to destroy vouchers and to so manipulate bookkeeping as to obliterate evidence of the transactions; that hundreds of thousands of dollars should be paid in unlawful rebates to a few great packing houses; that the business of railroad transportation, the most important but one in the country to-day, paying the highest salaries and holding out to young men the greatest inducements, should to such an extent be conducted in open disregard of law, must be surprising and offensive to all right-minded persons."

—*The Inter-State Commerce Commission.*

Chapter X.

"Finance is a mere matter of politics," was a favorite observation with Disraeli. And just as Disraeli, Salisbury, Bismarck, and all the practical statesmen of aristocratic Europe long ago learned to act upon this precept of modern

finance; so our Wall Street operators have long been busy with the work of political organization. Vanderbilt and Scott began it very early; Gould soon followed, with reckless daring; Huntington and the Pacific Railroad crowd pooled issues with the East far back in the sixties; in the early seventies Rockefeller began his shrewd work through Payne in Ohio, Quay in Pennsylvania, and Camden in West Virginia; and the Sugar Trust was no sooner organized than the Havemeyers became a potent influence in Washington. And since the Dingley bill made possible our modern era of wonder-working "industrial combinations," we know the artful solicitude with which the people are taught that "the question of tariff reform is separate and apart from the question of regulating the Trusts"—as Roosevelt words it.

Obviously, Wall Street is now the center and source of all the problems that perplex us. And, in reality, the Wall Street problem is so simple, so transparent in methods and motives, that we need only state the known facts in plain type to understand it clearly; and, understanding it, we need only apply remedies which are so long-tried and so familiar that it is impossible to doubt their efficacy. In other words, if the genius and manhood of America will, in the next few years, devote one-tenth as much time and purposeful energy to politics as they habitually devote to business, within a decade we can lay the secure foundations for a future the blessings of which no imagination can measure. And I know that we shall do it!

Now, let us face the facts of recent record.

I say let us face *the facts*, because the time has gone by for any further reasoning or debate about what is needed to solve all our problems in railroad and corporation finance. What we need, and just about all we need, is PUBLICITY—of precisely the kind that has solved our banking problem. And this I think can be made perfectly evident through a few pertinent quotations with running comment.

Mr. James B. Dill, of New York and New Jersey, is the author of the famous law which has made New Jersey the home of the Trusts. He is likewise the accomplished lawyer who patched up the peace between Frick and Carnegie, at the time the fearless American forced the wily little Scot to surrender what was justly due for steady, earnest, and able work in putting The Carnegie Company at the post of vantage for the Trust harvest. Mr. Dill is a graduate of Williams College, and at the commencement exercises of his *alma mater* in June, 1899, he had this to say concerning the motives and methods of our modern Wall Street promoters and financiers of Trusts:

"The labor of the professional promoter in this matter was not one of love. He was not actuated by methods of mere philanthropy; his purpose was to make for himself a profit out of the combination. This was generally done by making the stock issue of the company of sufficient size to enable the promoter to get some of this stock. The manufacturer was inclined to be generous with that which apparently cost him nothing. * * * * The promoter was not working upon the corporate problem to demonstrate an economic proposition from the standpoint of economics. He was seeking his reward, which was a block of stock. * * * * His stock sought a market, and this brought

the promoter into contact with the men who marketed the stock.

"We have now the origin of the financier.

"The financier saw that the promoter obtained his stock for his services, and that the stock was created for the purpose of paying for the services. * * * * At this point another element arose which tended to increase the issue of watered stock.

"Instead of $500,000 propositions, propositions involving millions were sought for, in order that the promoter's and financier's reward might be in the millions rather than in the unit quantities, and perhaps with a view to make the ascertainment of the exact amount paid for promotion more difficult.

"There followed a tendency to surrender industrial principles, and to follow the promoter and the financier along promotion lines rather than along truly manufacturing, mercantile or industrial lines. What was the result? The answer is plain.

"Combinations began to be put together for speculative purposes, or, put it another way, the Wall Street end came prominently forward into the business of combinations. For the Wall Street purpose, it was necessary that the combinations should be of immense size and apparently involving whole trades. Neither the promoter nor the financier was able to dispose of it all, and therefore a market had to be created for it.

"This tended to create the so-called pirates among industrial combinations, sometimes designated as 'gambling specialties,' a class of corporations organized as industrials upon apparently economic principles, but really and truly for the purpose of Wall Street speculations, and speculations only.

"In such companies the director or trustee had largely disappeared so far as his duties as an impartial trustee for the stockholder, the wage earner, or indeed, the industry or business itself, was concerned. The tendency was that of a mad race to quick wealth; sometimes proceeding upon the principle that the end justified the means, forgetting that industrial enterprises could not be conducted on purely speculative or gambling methods.

"At this point, let it be clearly understood that by no means all combinations were improperly promoted, viciously financed, but be it confessed that some were.

"As to the future of those corporations which are overloaded with stock issues, whose valuations have been fictitious, whose aims have been speculative, we note that the organization of these

companies, while ostensibly upon economic lines, has been really for the purpose of stock speculation. But the opportunity for this speculation is daily growing less and less; the investing public are becoming aware of securities of organizations which are over capitalized; the American public are buying with more care, are making more inquiries, are becoming more inquisitive as to what is behind the stock issue, and with the result that the market is lost to industrials which are in the nature of gambling speculations. The result will be that by a process more or less painful to the over-capitalized institutions, reorganization will take place, and such combinations will be put upon a truly industrial footing, or go to the wall.

"One thing certainly is now in the minds of the corporations of integrity; viz., to show plainly to the public what is back of the entire issue of stock, common and preferred. The public must have knowledge in order to buy and invest. The corporations must make knowledge public in order that they may not all go to destruction, and that the bad may stand out from and be distinguished as against the good.

"The so-called pirates in combinations have been the greatest injury to honest corporations of any of the elements existing today. For their own preservation corporations of integrity are urging a separation between the good and the bad. This is because the honest corporations know that they can stand that degree of publicity, while the inflated organization, the false industrial, will not dare make the same showing. The same need which called for the enactment of the national bank law (requiring official examination and periodical public statements) will no doubt eventually call for a national control of, and a national corporation law for, corporations which are truly national in their extent. This is but in a legal way carrying to its logical conclusion the principle which caused the organization of the combination, namely, 'centralization of control.' Applying this same principle of centralization of control to the law governing the corporations results in a national corporation law."

Mr. Dill's expert and timely emphasis of the growing need, in defense of both stockholders and managers, for greater publicity in company affairs, is but an echo of the eloquent, forceful, and

oft-repeated warnings upon the same subject from the late Lord Chief Justice Russell, of Great Britain. Following the Hooley disclosures, it will be recalled that in his memorable address at Manchester, he said:

"That law (Companies Act) has effected much good, but it has been, I am sorry to say, in many cases prostituted by the greed of unscrupulous persons in the hurry to obtain great wealth without being willing to put forth for its acquirement honest toil and honest endeavor * * * * The problem, which is not yet solved by existing legislation, is to reconcile the useful operation of that act with such machinery as, if it cannot wholly prevent, will minimize evils of the nature and character to which I have referred.

"The first object ought to be to ensure, so far as practicable, that the public should be afforded all such information as would affect the reasonable judgment of a man in determining whether he would or would not invest in a particular concern; and the next object ought to be that all holding fiduciary or quasi-fiduciary positions should be bound to disclose fully and clearly any interest which they possess differing from the interests of the other shareholders—in other words, that the transactions should be open and above board, and all the parties dealing on equal terms.

"I have heard it said that it is impossible to make the law more stringent, because it will frighten away from the direction of public companies honorable and honest men. I do not say that that consideration is to be disregarded—far from it. But I do not believe that any honorable and honest man, who desires according to his conscience to discharge the trust that is imposed on him, would suffer by any greater stringency of the law to give effect to the two objects to which I have referred. I said a few minutes ago that great pecuniary losses had followed these nefarious practices. The official receiver charged with winding up of public companies, who has rendered and is rendering the most valuable public service, has at my request furnished to me some figures on this head. They are startling. He gives me the figures for a period of seven years—from 1891 and up to and including 1897—and on the official information at his com-

mand, and taking the advice of those in a position to check the estimate (for in part it must necessarily be an estimate), he comes to the conclusion that in that period of seven years there has been lost to the community, and gone into unworthy pockets, no less a sum than £28,159,482, made up of losses of creditors dealing with companies £7,696,848, and of loss to the wretched contributors or shareholders £20,462,634. And when you recollect that these are the figures relating only to companies wound up compulsorily, and that they exclude cases of reduced capital, the losses in relation to companies whose shares were taken by the public at par, but whose present value only represents a very few shillings or pence in the pound of their par value, you will see that the loss to the public is enormous. But in addition to that is what I think is a weightier consideration—the effect of such transactions, if allowed to go on almost with impunity, on the public mind and confidence. These are pressing considerations, which show that these matters should be dealt with as of urgent importance."

Then again, some months thereafter, at the inauguration of the Lord Mayor of London, Chief Justice Russell again took occasion to say:

"The Legislature has recognized the need of measures aimed in this direction, for in several sessions of Parliament, committees of the House of Lords have been endeavoring to solve in this relation the problem of how to prevent, or at least to narrow, the area of fraud, while at the same time not interfering with the useful efficiency and operation of the acts dealing with limited liability companies. The aim of any such legislation is clear and is simple. It is to enforce the rules of common honesty in the promotion of companies. When appeals are made to the public to subscribe to the capital of undertakings, it ought to be obligatory to disclose every fact known to the promoters and unknown to the public which might affect the mind of a reasonable person in determining whether he will or will not subscribe to the purpose of the undertaking. Everything ought to be above board; no concealment; no secret profits—the parties, public, and promoters alike ought to deal with equal information as regards the carrying on of such companies. The directors ought to be men of independence, not the creatures of promoters, paid

by promoters, qualified by promoters, but men bringing reasonable skill and knowledge to the matters they undertake, and, even more important, independence of mind and perfect honesty to their task. My Lord Mayor, in saying this, I am not uttering any counsels of perfection. I am saying what the commonest dictates of honesty—common honesty—suggest. I hope that Parliament will feel itself competent at an early date to deal adequately and efficiently with this subject."

Mr. Dill and Lord Russell teach the same lesson which Salmon P. Chase, with painful difficulty, taught American bankers long ago, namely: that in order to prosper themselves, they must deal openly, and therefore honestly, with their stockholders, their depositors, and the public at large.

Mr. Chauncey M. Depew has also learned that same lesson—for no man can live so long and talk so much as the voluble Depew without sometimes stumbling upon the solid truth. This is what he said at the banquet assembled to celebrate his election (I beg pardon, his appointment) to the United States Senate:

"I believe that every company which owes its existence to a charter from the State or the National Government should be subject to the most rigid scrutiny and supervision by the State or National Government.

"I believe that the Interstate Commission should be strengthened in its power, its discretion and its judicial dignity.

One of the elements which is rapidly solving the railway problem is that no interest, or combination of interests, any longer control a majority of the stock of our great railway corporations, but that the stock is distributed so widely that it is held by individuals, mostly of limited means, estates, institutions which hold the savings of working men and working women, and the reserve for the protection of their policies of life insurance.

"Thus the voting control of these great corporations, more than three-fourths of it, is in the hands of the thousands upon thousands of the small investors of the country.

"New York is now the second city in the world in population, and the first in the magnitude of its manufacturing interests and its commercial and financial transactions."

"I believe from the pivotal position of our city and State that what benefits New York helps the whole country. The restrictions placed upon commerce at this port should be removed, and this should be made as far as possible a free port."

One of these days we shall have a statesman in Mr. Depew's seat in the Senate who will *talk* less, and make a business of *doing* at least something toward giving us "the most rigid scrutiny and supervision" of corporation finance. And if something is not soon done toward removing "the restrictions placed upon commerce at this port," instead of forever talking, Mr. Depew's successor will probably arrange for a dozen or more special trains to transport all the members of the Chamber of Commerce, the Board of Trade and Transportation, the Produce Exchange, and like bodies, down to Washington that they may let Congress know, very definitely, just what the brains, the wealth, the business interests, and the patriotism of New York now demand.

Mr. John D. Rockefeller is as close-mouthed as a sphinx. Not since the Trust issue began to take definite form in the public mind, has it been possible to force him upon the witness stand. For Rockefeller well knows that the magic spell of his success would be broken if he ever faced the searching cross-examination of an American freeman who is a trained lawyer—a free man, pulsing with the blood of his liberty-loving ancestors, and doing his chosen work in the presence of a watch-

ful, lynx-eyed, and fearless group of American newspaper reporters.

> "As long as the press can be protected, we trust them for light."
>
> —*Thomas Jefferson.*

But in 1899 the Industrial Commission finally forced Rockefeller to reply in writing, under oath, to a few questions; and we have already seen how he then confessed that "the entire oil business is dependent upon this pipe-line system"—for which the people have granted the franchises! Further along in this oath-bound and written testimony, Rockefeller found it necessary to employ ordinary common sense, and so he said this, in defense of combinations:

"Our Federal form of government, making every corporation created by a State foreign to every other State, renders it necessary for persons doing business through corporate agency to organize corporations in some or many of the different States in which their business is located. Instead of doing business through the agency of one corporation, they must do business through the agencies of several corporations. If the business is extended to foreign countries—*and Americans are not to-day satisfied with home markets alone*—it will be found helpful and possibly necessary to organize corporations in such countries, for Europeans are prejudiced against foreign corporations, as are the people of many of our States. These different corporations thus become co-operating agencies in the same business, and are held together by common ownership of their stocks.

"It is too late to argue about advantages of industrial combinations. They are a necessity. And if Americans are to have the privilege of extending their business in all the States of the Union, and into foreign countries as well, they are a necessity on a large scale and require the agency of more than one corporation.

"The dangers are that the power conferred by combinations

may be abused, that combinations *may be formed for speculation in stocks rather than for conducting business*, and that for this purpose *prices may be temporarily raised instead of being lowered.*''

''I ascribe the success of the Standard to its consistent policy to make the volume of its business large through the merits *and cheapness of its products.*''

In the light of a recent advance of four cents per gallon in the cost of oil, I think some of us will be disposed to ''ascribe the success of the Standard'' to a monopoly of pipe-line franchises—granted by the people—which enables the Standard Oil Company to charge precisely what they please for petroleum and all its by-products. And in the light of Mr. Archbold's notorious telegram to Senator Matthew Stanley Quay, I think many more of us will conclude that all the formidable forces of the Standard Oil Company may be relied upon to offer sturdy and long-winded opposition to every move that may be made to assure American freemen, as well as investing stockholders, the same reasonable, prudent, and necessary publicity as to combination finance that the fighting patriotism of Andrew Jackson and the constructive statesmanship of Salmon P. Chase finally gave us for banking corporations.

''The Standard Oil Company, unlike most of the other great concerns, is violently opposed to the provisions of the Department of Commerce bill relating to the powers of the new Bureau of Corporations. Its representatives are trying to attach restrictions to the operations of the bureau which will save the Standard Oil from ever having to disclose the essential facts of its business operations. For a time it seemed as if such a conservative Trust programme had been made that the railroad

and other corporations would consent to its adoption, as an inexpensive method of satisfying the public demand, but recent developments make this less certain."

—*New York Evening Post.*

The boom in "industrials," since the passage of the Dingley bill, has carried us so far afield in the mystic and bedazzling region of Wall Street finance, that too many of us have forgotten the deeps and shallows, the splendors and the wrecks, of the era of railroad promotions. I have no time at present to review the stirring story of those early days, when a certain celebrated gentleman was "casting an anchor to windward" to induce the national government and the investing public to provide the needful cash—together with great land grants from our Public Domain—for building our matchless railroad systems. That was a harvest season during which early promoters piled up many princely fortunes; and below I present a "human document" which I think will be enough at present to recall the past to prudent men—enough also to give us sure direction for the immediate future.

It will be remembered that the Baltimore and Ohio was one of the earliest of our enterprises in substituting the railroad for the stage coach and Conestoga wagon. John W. Garrett was the practical genius who piloted the B. & O. safely to the point of large public usefulness; and Garrett's son was a fearless chip of the old block who gave his life to an honest development of its still-larger usefulness. While I was yet a boy, back in the crucial year of 1877, when the panic of 1873 bore fruit in the tragic railroad riots at Martinsburg

and Pittsburg, the man who preached the soundest railroad logic that I had ever read or heard, was William Keyser, second Vice-President and active Manager at that time. After I had grown to mature manhood, in the year 1894, when the B. & O. went into the hands of Receivers, this was the message I read from that same William Keyser:

"When the writer was in London recently Lord Rothschild, the head of one of the greatest banking houses of that city, said to him that there were two things in connection with the American railway management which needed radical reform before confidence on the part of foreign investors in American railway securities could be restored. The one was the abolition of the one-man power in the president, and the other a more rigid supervision of competent and disinterested experts of the system and correctness of American railway accounting.

"The report of Mr. Little on the affairs of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway Company, just issued, strikingly confirms the correctness of this criticism. Unfortunately, this is not the first investigation to which the affairs of this company have been subjected within late years, nor is it the first time the accuracy of its accounts has been called in question and clearly shown to be unreliable and untrustworthy.

"In 1888 a Committee of Investigation, of which I was Chairman, after an exhaustive examination, wrote off as worthless some $25,000,000, which as an asset never had an existence, and which only appeared to the credit of the profit and loss account as the result of the systematic manipulation of the accounts upon a theory of finance not only unsound in principle, but unknown in any correct system of bookkeeping."

Mr. Keyser then goes on to say that an expert accountant was then secured and the books made to conform with the latest and most approved system of railroad bookkeeping. This man is still in the company's employ, and yet the old system was again adopted, the books being made to conform with the reports as issued. Mr. Keyser then compares the condition of the road

as represented in 1888, with its immense so-called surplus, to that of the present day, and concludes by asking, 'Who is responsible?' He then goes on to say:

"That the responsibility for entailing this enormous loss upon the investing public rests somewhere cannot be denied. While during a part of the time under review business conditions were not favorable for railroad earnings, it is well known that well-managed properties have held their own, and that a diminution or temporary loss of dividends has been the only disadvantage the stockholder has labored under.

"I think in the case of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company the one-man power has been largely responsible. The Board of Directors of this property have apparently never exercised any control over its affairs or accounting, or kept themselves informed of the situation. Gentlemen have for years loaned their respectable names to give currency to this company's reports and inspire confidence in its management. While the public at large were openly criticising the statements and the business methods in vogue, these directors, who were the responsible parties, seem to have contented themselves to remain in profound ignorance of the nature and bearing of the large transactions which have resulted in saddling upon the concern immense losses and untold complications, and of the system under which the accounts were being handled, and apparently indifferent as to the correctness or character of the reports for which they were responsible.

"The first step toward remedying the evils of the past is, in my judgment, to determine clearly to what they are attributable, and I believe the incompetency and inefficiency of the Board of Management lies at the bottom of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company's past troubles. When the chairman of the Finance Committee of a great corporation will content himself to remain in absolute ignorance of the financial condition of his company, and deliberately close his eyes when the air is full of damaging rumors as to its condition, it seems to me the time has come when finance committees and their chairmen are no longer wanted, and the same may be said of Boards of Directors.

"A wholesome lesson may be learned from the past and the evils to some extent offset if a radical change can now be inaugurated so that in the future this and other similar companies

can be managed by men who accept positions recognizing their responsibility to the public, and who will see to it that no reports of the president and directors are issued without at least ordinary precaution and diligence being used to make sure that the figures presented are based upon some well-organized principle of bookkeeping.''

A few years later, Hon. William Mason, the clear-headed and patriotic American who has represented us as Consul General at Berlin for so many years past, sent this message to the Department of State:

''The uniform reply of German financiers, when asked what is requisite to restore European confidence in American railway securities, is that such corporations should be brought under the control of a comprehensive Federal law. Tradition, education, and experience have alike taught the German that, whatever may be the existing form of government in any country, the one sure source of protection and safety in the presence of danger or conflicting interests is the supreme authority of national control.

''Mr. Mason says that the German railroad-license system is not applicable in its entirety to America, and adds in conclusion: 'It is believed by many whose experience and interests in both countries entitle their opinions to respect, that it should be possible to frame and adopt a statute applicable to at least all railway companies of the class now subject to the Interstate Commerce law, and which shall be clear, precise, and inexorable upon the following topics, viz:

'' '(1.) Regulation of the elections of railway officers so that elections shall be free and open and represent directly and fairly the wishes and interests of security holders.

'' '(2.) Creation of a national bureau of publicity, inspection, and control, providing for the regular publication at stated periods of certified reports, showing fully and accurately the earnings, expenses, acts of directors, and all business results which affect the value of corporate property.

'' '(3.) Making each violation of the law by any act of usur-

pation or wilful mismanagement a crime entailing imprisonment, and requiring Federal prosecuting officers to institute and conduct prosecutions for such offence.

"'(4.) Providing a thorough revision of the system of proceedings under which courts of justice now appoint receivers to manage railroads, and making the president or director of a defrauding corporation ineligible for appointment as a receiver of the same property.'"

A very short time ago, when Gates outwitted Belmont and Morgan in cornering control of the Louisville and Nashville, this is an obituary notice which I clipped from *The New York Herald*—to indicate the influence which is literally killing heart and hope and larger usefulness throughout the ranks of our great army of honest, earnest, and practical railroad men, under our present lack of system in corporation management:

"Worry and grief over the loss of a position he had worked a lifetime to gain, caused the nervous collapse and death of Samuel H. Edgar, formerly second vice-president of the Louisville and Nashville. He had worked his way up in the railroad office, which he entered as a poor boy, and he never recovered from the shock of his removal when the road went out of the hands of the Belmonts about a year ago.

"Just before his dismissal he married Miss Catherine S. Stenhouse. He was past fifty years of age, and had told his friends he had been too busy to wed before, but now he had gained success he could better enjoy his home. The honeymoon was scarcely over when John W. Gates engineered the famous deal to gain control of the Louisville and Nashville, and Mr. Edgar was removed from his position.

"He went South with his bride in the hope of regaining his health, and for a time seemed to throw off the nervous attack. Ill health returned, however, and he went to the Oak Hill Sanitarium, in Caldwell, N. J., where his death occurred.

"Mr. Edgar was born in Philadelphia fifty-seven years ago.

He graduated from Girard College and started almost immediately upon a railroad life. For seventeen years he was in the employ of Colonel Henry S. McComb, vice-president of the Louisville and Jackson Railroad. Two years he spent in the employ of the Mobile and Ohio, and for the last twenty years he was with the Louisville and Nashville.''

I might go on massing testimony which would reach from Credit Mobilier and the Erie scandal down to Northern Securities and the Beef Trust decision. But it is needless to repeat what volumes have been written about; needless to prove what is common knowledge among all intelligent men. From the day that our railroads began to carry commerce across State boundaries, and from the hour that shippers in one State found it impossible to get fair treatment from a railroad chartered in another State, there has been incessant demand for national supervision of railroads. Disinterested bankers everywhere, at home and abroad, have joined the people in that insistent demand. Hundreds of honest and able railroad managers have done their best to advance the cause—the record of certain Pennsylvania officials, especially in the matter of their authoritative public statements, being worthy of the highest commendation. But just as there are many able and honest men in the United States Senate who are rendered powerless by the political machine which now dominates that body; so there are hundreds of honest railway officials, of the first order of ability, who are rendered powerless to effect needed reforms by the formidable ''combination'' of millionaires who now dominate both Wall Street and Washington.

All America deplores the awful disaster which overtakes our railroad finances when we have a panic. In 1873, and again in 1893, countless fortunes were lost in the collapse of Wall Street values for railroad stocks and bonds. In 1894—nine short years ago—full three-fourths of our railroad mileage, actually worth billions of dollars, was thrown into the hands of receivers. No mind can measure the human misery, the deadening of hope and ambition, which that fact entailed. But these awful consequences were for the many—not for the few. Every man at all familiar with our railroad finance well knows that the years following 1873 and 1893 were bounteous harvest seasons for the shrewd investors who operate in Wall Street. Then it was that they bought for a song, from tens of thousands of uninformed and sorely frightened small investors, millions in shares and other millions in bonds which have since made them fabulously rich through the natural and inevitable recovery of actual values. And to suppose that shrewd and able men, in control of the machine and intent only upon riches, will ever permit, much less promote, any change in our laws which would make these harvest seasons impossible to themselves and their heirs—is like hoping that Kings will voluntarily resign their high offices.

But the era of unscrupulous manipulation in Wall Street is nearing its end. The investing public has had sorry lessons enough to teach them that the values of our railroad franchises endure—to teach them, further, that the future values of the stocks and bonds of our established rail-

road systems, under honest management and reasonable supervision of the Interstate Commerce Commission, are just as certain and far more profitable, as income investments, than the bonds of the United States of America. In other words, the stockholders in our railroads, like the vast army of our railroad officials and employes, have finally learned through trying experience precisely what Salmon P. Chase long ago taught American bankers. One and all they are ready for legislation which will put into practical effect just what Mr. Keyser enjoined in the letter I have quoted, namely: That the one-man power shall be ended; and that no reports shall be issued to the public without "ordinary precautions and diligence being used to make sure that the figures presented are based upon some well-organized system of bookkeeping." One and all—minus only our crop of millionaire promoters—investors and railroad managers are full ready for the immediate passage of a law which will invest the Interstate Commerce Commission with full power:

(1) To prescribe a precise form of sworn statement, showing receipts, expenditures, and permanent improvements, which every railroad shall publish at least four times a year—just as our national banks publish like statements five times a year.

(2) To employ a staff of skilled railroad accountants who, without notice, will periodically walk into any and all offices of these railroads and open their books and papers to verify the accu-

racy of published statements, and to investigate complaints that may be filed with the Commission by stockholders and shippers.

(3) To prescribe systematic rules for publishing the rates which railroad officials see fit to establish for the traveling and shipping public; the said rules to indicate the uniform procedure for announcing changes in rates; and every schedule thus published to have displayed upon it, in bold type, an invitation to shippers and railroad employes to promptly notify the Commission of violations of the published rates, under pledge of strict secrecy, should the informant so desire. This latter proviso would make favoritism, discrimination, rebates, drawbacks, etc., so dangerous a business that within a short time criminality of that character would become ancient history.

(4) Finally, the law should be mandatory in requiring every railroad company to print and mail to the Interstate Commerce Commission, on say January 1 and July 1 of each year, a complete and sworn list giving the name, address, and number of shares of every registered stock and bond holder. Make these lists available to stock and bond holders, and instantly the common interests of minority stockholders would end forever the shameless abuses of cliques and pools in Wall Street who now secretly manipulate railroad property, often to the ruin of small investors. Simply supply minority stockholders with the opportunity to communicate with each other readily, and they will quickly find the men and means for protecting their interests and property rights. Not a man could then aspire to so respon-

sible and so honorable a post as Director, unless he could command the confidence and the votes of a majority of the stockholders; and not a proposal as to development, or enlargement and refunding of capital, but would have to stand squarely upon its merit before a well-informed investing public. And publicity of this character would so stimulate ambition and endeavor among honest and able men who have entered upon railroad management as a career, and who know how to win the approval of their stockholders, that within a few years our railroad stocks and bonds would become favorite investments with our whole people. Let that become true, and who can measure the future mileage of our railroads, or the future value of their securities—who can estimate the patriotic pride which our whole people would take in the steady development of these great arteries of our commerce and industry?

We need not waste time with further discussion of the impracticable idea of empowering the Interstate Commerce Commission with authority to fix rates. That is part and parcel of the dreamy theory of State Socialism, or "government ownership." Paternalism may, for the present, satisfy Continental people who are ruled by legalized aristocracies and who have had little or no experience in self-government. But the system is radically and dangerously un-American. The genius of our institutions and the abiding genius of our people are opposed to the concentration of power in the hands of a few—be they political Lords or railroad Lords.

We neither desire nor need to own our rail-

roads and other public utilities *in order to control and enjoy them upon terms of equality.* All we need is to open their books—to apply identically the same system of publicity and national supervision which has solved our banking problem. Not one question as to transportation rates or rights but can be quickly settled between shippers and railroad managers, if we simply empower the Interstate Commerce Commission with authority to demand the presentation of all the facts, in open court, in every case of dispute. Do that, *and railroad officials will themselves become voluntary and active agents in avoiding every occasion for contest.* This is true because low rates is the potent power which stimulates traffic and travel. Self-interest prompts railroad men to increase the volume of their business as fast as possible. Competition with each other, and competition with the transportation facilities of our lakes, rivers, and canals—these are enduring forces which prove the economic principle that is always at work. And for proof of it we need only compare our traffic rates with those of England, where "community of interest" is in full control, and with those of the Continent, where experiments in "government ownership" have had freest play.

We lead the world in the extent, the efficiency and the cheapness of our transportation facilities. Our railroads and street railways are yet in a formative stage—hardly past their beginnings. Give system and security — in one word, give publicity—to this feature of our industrial development, and no living man can

measure the additions and improvements which increasing population and increasing production will tempt our army of railroad men to undertake.

The American principle of individual ownership and individual initiative is what has guided us thus far. It is simple sentimentalism which dreams that the puissant race of American freemen can now be induced to abandon that principle in favor of paternalism. For picture, my good reader, the utter paralysis that would grip, halt and destroy the individual initiative of every railroad expert in America if he had to submit to the direction of a lot of politicians in Washington or some State capital. The thing is unthinkable—impossible—here!

Beyond this, our railroad experience has now emphasized the further lesson which banking experience has taught, namely: That railroad officials and shippers are the only men competent to fix rates—precisely as bankers and borrowers are the only men competent to decide when paper money should be issued to meet legitimate trade requirements. The true sphere of government is to preserve order, to protect life and property, and to establish justice between man and man. Through the genius of Salmon P. Chase we have demonstrated, once and for all future time, that our national government can protect us against the dangers of bank monopoly, and can fully discharge its natural function by simply preserving order among the banks—precisely as it preserves order and guarantees equal and exact justice as between our individual State governments. To

extend the same beneficent and long-tried system to our railroads is now so logical and so natural a step that it would have been taken long ago but for the formidable opposition of those who have won millions through secretly monopolizing and manipulating the people's invaluable franchises for public utilities.

Nor need we worry ourselves in the least over any possible danger from allowing railroad officials to fix rates. Free competition for traffic is the potent element which dissolves that danger to the dead-level of open bidding for the largest possible volume of freight at the lowest possible price. We hear a great deal nowadays of the new-found device "community of interest," which is to give our great Captains of Finance a secure monopoly of the railroads. But it transports us to the regions of dreamland if we suppose that the level-headed Cassatt and his Pennsylvania followers will ever surrender to the Vanderbilts; that Hill and Morgan will grant dominion of the Northwest to Harriman and Kuhn-Loeb; or that the Goulds will tolerate the pretensions of the Moores. No, no; these dignitaries of the Wall Street world are cutting a very wide swath in the popular imagination at present, and I doubt not every man of them feels that he is now in position to throttle and command ambitious railroad experts. But I have yet to learn that we owe our railroads to Wall Street financiers. Stephenson gave us the locomotive, Stevens gave us the T rail, Fink taught us the economy of iron and steel bridges, Westinghouse made high speeds possible with his air

brake, and Pullman showed us how to build miniature palaces on wheels. With or without our wonder-working Wall Street operators, we should certainly have had our railroads.

The fact is now patent, also, that through eagerness for millions, and especially through bloodthirsty personal rivalry, our nabobs have recklessly subordinated railroad experts to Wall Street tyranny. This betokens sheer ignorance and disregard of the underlying forces which move society. Strong men will wreck Wall Street rather than submit to so senseless a system as that of giving a tight-and-fast combination of stock-jobbers and moneyed aristocrats arbitrary control of our railroads and great manufacturing industries. In proof of this we have lately seen the shrewd little Carnegie upset their "community-of-interest" plans and force the formation of the Steel Trust by simply threatening the competition of water transportation from Conneaut, *when they withdrew his long-standing advantage over competitors through preferential freight rates from Pittsburgh.* We know what happened in Wall Street on May 9, 1901, when Harriman and Schiff all but captured control of the Northern Pacific. We have seen the daring Gates plunge them into confusion by his cornered control of the Louisville and Nashville. We have watched Moore and his followers reap a harvest of hundreds of millions from the Match Trust, the Cracker Trust, the Tin Plate Trust, and others, only to invest these millions in the looming Rock Island system. We have taken note that Clark, of copper and Senatorial fame,

is building a considerable railroad line out West. We have not failed to observe the rapid rise in the mileage of new railroads and new extensions now building and projected. And, lastly, the Panama Canal is to be completed, and the Erie Canal is to be dug deep enough to accommodate large freight-carrying vessels. All of this shows plainly that competition can not be permanently throttled; that men of inherent power will not submit to dictation from any combination of other men; and hence that the "community-of-interest" scheme is *utterly impracticable as a solution of our railroad problem.*

Beyond all this, though many of us have forgotten, yet a sufficient number of us well remember that, back in 1887, when ex-Senator Reagan of Texas, with the foresight of true statesmanship, was demanding the enactment of the law creating the Inter-State Commerce Commission, it was Albert Fink—one of the greatest of American railroad men—who gave us this sound teaching:

"Transportation tariffs cannot be established by simple arithmetical or mathematical rules; they require the application of a number of principles, all correct in themselves, to *a great variety of ever-changing facts.* This is necessarily the work of experts, and not the work of legislative departments of government. For this reason, all attempts to lay down specific rules for the regulation of tariffs have heretofore failed."

"Under the process of underbidding (secret rebates, drawbacks, etc.), heretofore so generally practiced by competing railroad companies,—a practice always encouraged by the shippers, and incorrectly called competition,—no just and equitable tariff can be maintained. I say competition is not a correct name, because legitimate competition can always be carried on *openly*

and above board; the process described, when competitors are under an agreement to maintain the same tariff, is simply a process of *cheating and deceiving*, and ought not to be dignified by the name of competition."

"The competitive railroad tariffs for Inter-State commerce are not, as is so generally supposed, under the absolute control of railroad managers; the carriers by water routes really establish these tariffs, and the railroad managers have nothing to do but conform to them. The water routes not only control the tariffs of their immediate rail competitors at points where they can render like service to the same people, but their influence reaches, directly and indirectly, to the remotest parts of the country. Compared with this natural powerful regulator of railroad transportation tariffs, the efforts of State or Congressional legislation to prevent extortionate charges appear to those who are fully conversant with the subject as perfectly useless; and the declamations against the baneful effect of the so-called railroad combinations (pooling) appear simply as idle talk.

"While the water routes exist only between Chicago and New York, the effect upon transportation rates is felt all over the country, by reason of the competition between the railroads. No combination of the railroads can suppress this competition. It could only be done if the railroads were all owned by one party, and were operated in one interest. But, as it is, they all have separate interests, and each one, in guarding its own, keeps up this competition; and the rates, even when agreed upon between themselves, are fixed by competition. This, unfortunately, is not understood by the public. It is generally believed that, when competing railroads agree upon uniform rates, this excludes competition. This is not the fact. The effect of water competition is felt, not only east of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, but south of the Ohio river."

"To the south there is the water route from New York to New Orleans via the ocean; and from New Orleans freight is carried to Memphis and Saint Louis and the West via the Mississippi. In order to meet these low rates, the east and west roads from Louisville and Memphis, or from Memphis to Norfolk east, have to conform again to the low rates made by the Atlantic ocean

and the Mississippi river. *In this way the water-courses are really regulating the railroad transportation rates throughout, one may say, the whole country.*"

"There is plenty of competition that regulates the rates and keeps them at an exceedingly low figure. Not only do the waterways control the rates,—narrowly limiting them, at any rate,—but the competition of the markets for the products that are to be carried, is another great factor in fixing railroad transportation rates. The price of carrying grain, for example, is fixed not by the railroad companies, but in the markets of the world. That price is generally regulated now by the Liverpool market, and, if railroads want to carry any grain, they have to carry it at a price that will enable the producers to compete in the Liverpool market with the markets of the world. So widespread is the influence of competition that the charges for transportation in East India have even become factors in making railroad rates from Chicago to New York. There is no danger whatever of any excessive charge."

"Chicago is the regulator of the rates throughout the whole country, on account of its command of water transportation. The roads carrying freight from Chicago to the east have now an understanding, according to which each one agrees to be satisfied with a certain proportion of the total business from Chicago, and each one pledges itself not to pay rebates or secretly lower its rates in order to secure more than the proportion agreed upon. There is, of course, no objection to any one of the roads reducing its rates openly, if it chooses to do so, for then the other roads can make similar reductions; but it is agreed that these reductions, if any are to be made, *shall not be made secretly*, in order that one shipper or one railroad may not have an advantage over the other."

"*It is a mistaken idea that these arrangements are compacts for the purpose of preventing competition, and it is upon this erroneous view that the objections are based.* These agreements to divide the traffic between competing roads are changeable, according to the interest of the parties to the agreement. If one or the other railroad company improves its facilities of transportation, or improves its connections, and thinks it is entitled to carry a larger share of the traffic than it has been allowed in a

division, it calls for a revision of the compact, and a readjustment must be made according to the merits of each line. In this way the spirit of competition is kept alive; each road continues to strive to secure the largest patronage; but, instead of doing so *by paying rebates and by violating the laws of common carriers, it has to use open and legitimate means of competition.*

"The objections to the so-called "pooling" process are, therefore, based upon an entire misapprehension of its nature and of its good effects. It possesses the great advantage over absolute consolidation of railroad property that it keeps up the spirit of competition, while at the same time it secures the advantage of absolute consolidation,—unity of management. When private parties cannot agree on questions that may lead to dissension and quarrels, they are obliged to submit them to the adjudication of properly-constituted courts. They are not allowed to involve their neighbors in their quarrels; they are not permitted to set their own houses on fire to spite each other, and destroy the property of their innocent neighbors. And why should not the same restrictions of the law be applied to warring railroad companies, whose action and whose management involve such large public interests, and who are really the creatures and the servants of the public?

"It is time that the antiquated notion that has taken such a strong hold of the legal minds of the country—the notion that all agreements between railroad companies, in regard to transportation tariffs, are against public policy, and are in the nature of conspiracies—should at last give way to a proper understanding of the true nature and objects of these agreements, and to a conviction of their necessity and of their highly beneficial results; and, instead of prohibiting such agreements, the government should give them legal force and should exercise its power in carrying them out. That is all that is required on the part of Congress in order to settle this vexatious railroad problem."

Here, for example, is a sample of the solid sense Mr. James J. Hill teaches upon the subject of American railroad management and its results:

"We have settled some questions in this country in such a way that no other nation thinks our settlement at all permanent.

For instance, land transportation: In Great Britain it costs $2.35 an average to haul a ton of freight one hundred miles. On the Continent it costs about $1.90; in the United States it costs 70 cents—and we pay four times the wages they pay, and still we furnish the transportation for a little more than one-third of the average of Europe. Still we are hardly happy. Sometimes we would like to furnish it for nothing; but it cannot be furnished for nothing.

"A railroad is a great deal like the French cook, when they asked him what he wanted to make soup. 'Oh, anything.' 'Well, what?' 'Well,' he said, 'a joint, a piece of mutton, a bone, the heel of an old shoe; I must have something; but I cannot make it out of nothing.'

"The amount of traffic has grown to an extent that east of Chicago the railroads cannot carry the business. You could not go to Minneapolis and make a contract to get a carload of flour or a trainload of flour delivered in New York—a contract you could enforce in thirty days, because nobody knows what time it will take, the traffic is so great.

"Now, there are two ways that the traffic of the West, growing as rapidly as it is growing, can find its way to market. One is down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. That is active to-day. Grain sells as high for the last year, as a rule, in Kansas City, as it sells in Chicago—simply because it can go out by the Gulf of Mexico. People are afraid now to send their grain East by the trunk lines, afraid they may not get it until next spring. The other is by way of the St. Lawrence. If the St. Lawrence system were improved as it might be, it would take the great bulk of our export business from this portion of the West, and from all portions of the West near the Great Lakes."

Throughout the whole of Mr. Hill's career we have had free competition in railroad building, and red hot competition in freight rates. Adam Smith demonstrated long ago that low prices increase consumption. Without knowing much about Adam Smith, our enterprising railroad men learned very early in their experience that

the true way to stimulate all kinds of traffic on railroad lines, is to offer low rates. Hence our average of 70 cents.

But during all this time, while we have had driving competition, the British railways have been tightly controlled by a few people who own them, who operate them upon the "community-of-interest" plan, and who are so strongly represented in the British Parliament that they block competition in both railway building and low freight rates. Hence the British average of $2.35.

Then, all over the Continent, the Socialists are so strong and the aristocrats are so grasping that, between them, they have forced the different governments to buy and operate the railroads "in the interest of the whole people." Hence the Continental average of $1.90.

It is commonly argued nowadays that our very low rates for transportation are largely due to long hauls, big cars, and heavy train loads—the wholesale handling of freight, in short. But that logic does not reach deep enough. Fully informed men see clearly enough that our long hauls, big cars, and wholesale handling of freight result from free competition and individual initiative in railroad building—from the East to the West, and from the North to the South. Enterprising men will be sure to go on eagerly with the great, good work of extending and improving our railroad facilities, so long as they are sure of individual recognition and reward. But if we permit a moneyed aristocracy of Wall street financiers to rule over and dictate terms to them —freight rates will go up, railroad building will

be confined to the "insiders," and we shall hear continuous talk of "government ownership."

The truth is that our railroads are yet in a progressive stage of rapid development. The past fifty years marks the phenomenal era of creation, experiment, construction, and natural evolution of the new science. Throughout this formative period practical railroad experts—the true benefactors of mankind in the railroad world—have been busy with the work of testing and improving the new system and science of transportation. Political science has lagged so far behind them, and their work has been so immensely productive and profitable, that, for the time being, mere speculators and financiers have been allowed to capture control—just as the Feudal Barons of old captured control of all Europe's fertile fields, and then deliberately established a "community-of-interest" system of legalized lords and ladies, to employ and rule over the sturdy yeomanry who cultivate the fields and bless mankind with the fruits of honest labor.

But our heroic ancestors left Europe in righteous disgust with the tyranny of that system; and it is now plain as day that the simple duty which rests upon us is exactly parallel to the duty which rested upon our Revolutionary grandfathers. They stripped the aristocrats of titles and offices, and they gave the national government full authority over inter-state commerce—just as a generation ago our fathers took a like step when they extended that national authority to our banking facilities. To put the proposal in definite terms: What we need, and all we need at present, is to

clothe the Inter-State Commerce Commission with full authority to force the men who are entrusted with the administration of our priceless franchises for public utilities to face Public Opinion in open court. Do that, and every problem in railroad management and finance will be promptly settled to the satisfaction of all thinking men—just as the prolonged and horrible strike in the anthracite region was promptly settled when the mine operators were forced to face the miners before the high court of Public Opinion. In one word, give us PUBLICITY! Truth and justice invite the light of day. It is evil and error that ever hunt the cover of secrecy, deception and darkness.

And in the light of our experience in banking and railroad management, it seems almost superfluous to add that the complete solution of the perplexing Trust problem is to be found in a simple extension of the same long-tried system of national supervision and publicity. These vaunted "combinations" are neither more nor less than public corporations, created by and for the people. They are chartered in many different States, but they are engaged in inter-state commerce; and hence they come within the sphere and authority of the national government. We are indifferent as to the business in which they may be engaged; we care nothing about the amount of capital, be it large or small, which they may claim to have invested in the business; we ask only the facts as to the actual capital invested; and we have no desire to hamper or restrict their legitimate operations. But we have

a very vital interest, legally proclaimed long ago, in preventing a corporation chartered by one State from exterminating its competitors in other States; we have formed a settled determination to make these wonder-working combinations live up to their professions, by winning customers through the "merits and cheapness of their products:" and we have a clearly defined conviction that most of them have been formed for the specific purpose of "speculation in stocks, rather than for conducting business." Moreover, we know, to our heavy cost, that, to serve Wall Street ends, prices have been "raised instead of lowered," as the promoters promised. This is notoriously true of coal oil, which lights the homes of the poor, and of iron and steel, which are the basis of all constructive industry. If now we remove the duties on Trust-made products, along the conservative lines which I have tried to indicate in the preceding chapter, we shall quickly see Trust prices settle down to a normal level with the corresponding prices in free trade England. That will reduce the fabulous profits which the Trusts are now making, and it will hurt the Wall Street values of their watered stocks. But it will not give the Trust promoters the shadow of an excuse for shutting down factories or throwing men out of work, because they have told us that there are Trusts in free trade England, precisely as there are Trusts here. All we ask is that American Trusts shall sell as cheaply as English Trusts—*especially when we know that they can manufacture cheaper here than there.*

Then let us authorize the Inter-State Commerce

Commission to prescribe a form of quarterly statement which all large corporations engaged in inter-state commerce shall be required to publish in the newspapers; let us clothe the Commission with power to open the books of these corporations for the purpose of verifying these statements; let us specifically demand that every such corporation shall publish at the end of every six months a full list, giving the name, address and number of shares of each of its registered stockholders; and, finally, let us lodge with the Commission the discretionary power of legally determining, upon investigation, just what State corporations come within the purview of the inter-state commerce law. That will very quickly give us the publicity which will make an end of the familiar Wall Street business of forming combinations for the purpose of "speculation in stocks, rather than for conducting business."

We may safely entrust this specific and legally-limited power to the Commission as a substitute for the unlimited and despotic power which is now in the hands of Mr. Theodore Roosevelt—for there is an enormously wide difference between the two. The "one-man power" has been making trouble throughout all historic time. I have a logical and clearly-defined conviction that what Mr. Roosevelt most wants at present is a nomination for the Presidency. I fear that he plans to use his despotic power to force his nomination, and that he will let us wait for publicity until that object and ambition are satisfied. I think millions of Americans agree with me in this belief. On the other hand, the members of the

Commission are under no such suspicion or temptation; and being at the post of duty, with honorable ambition to win renown through disinterested public service, I am entirely sure that every man of them will bend all his energies to the single aim of giving us promptly, prudently, and in full measure, that degree of publicity which will afford a lasting solution of the whole troublesome Trust problem.

To summarize this whole chapter: What we need, and all we need at present, is a brief amendment of our Inter-State Commerce law which will give us (1) publicity in railroad and corporation management; (2) an emphatic reassertion of national control for all corporations engaged in inter-state commerce; and (3) *a patriotically worded paragraph which will proclaim anew our allegiance to the American principle of individual ownership as opposed to all insufferable systems of "government ownership."*

> "That government is best which governs least."
> —*Thomas Jefferson.*

These are simple, logical and necessary changes in our existing laws which will satisfy the people, and at the same time give the stockholders and directors of every existing corporation free scope and opportunity to proceed with the conduct and development of their legitimate business under present State charters, if they so elect. But, beyond this, the next needful step in the development of our political system, the step which would put us far in advance of all the rest of the world, and the step which would make an end of

all agitation for paternalistic proposals of "government ownership," is a law providing for charters to national corporations which desire to engage in inter-state commerce. With Chase's priceless and imperishable statute for national banks before us, if now Congress will invite the members of the Inter-State Commerce Commission to draft and submit a parallel statute for chartering industrial and commercial corporations—then we can go on our way, rejoicing in the knowledge that we are worthily filling out the destiny which "they who fought have thus far so nobly advanced."

MINE MONOPOLY AND LAND SPECULATION.

"Give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock, and he will turn it into a garden; give him a nine-years' lease of a garden, and he will convert it into a desert." —*Arthur Young.*

"Peasant proprietorship, or properly, proprietorship of land by its cultivator, is the natural system of land tenure, whether considered abstractly or by its results."

—*J. W. Barclay, M. P.*

"Let us be attentive to these (our natural advantages) and then the power of rivals, with all their restraining and prohibiting acts, cannot much hurt us. We are sons of the earth and seas, and the touch of our parents will communicate to us fresh strength and vigor to renew the contest."

—*Benjamin Franklin.*

"Our people will remain virtuous so long as agriculture is our principal object, which will be the case while there remain vacant lands in America. When we get piled on one another in large cities, as in Europe, we shall go to eating each other as they do there." —*Thomas Jefferson.*

"We protest against any sale or alienation to others, of the Public Lands held by actual settlers; and against any view of the Homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory Homestead measure which has already passed the House."

—*Republican Platform, 1860.*

Chapter XI.

The Irish people have exhibited to the world so prolonged and tragic a struggle for the right to cultivate their native soil free from the tribute of absentee landlords; and in recent years Henry

George has given us such a martyr-like crusade in favor of his impossible scheme of confiscating land values through the single tax, and nationalizing all public utilities through "government ownership," that thinking men now seem to approach consideration of the land question with a sense of fear and trembling. But just as the troublesome money question becomes as simple as A, B, C, when once we understand it, so the land question is, in reality, one of the very simplest with which modern society has to deal.

And it is vitally necessary that we now face the fundamental facts and principles of land ownership; for when the Steel Trust promoters brazenly tell us, in cold print under oath, that their Lake Superior iron mines and their little Connellsville coke fields are actually worth Seven Hundred Millions of Dollars—then it is high time for us to wake up to the immeasurable value of all the rest of our exhaustless stores of natural wealth, which no man ever spent a moment's time in producing, for which our fathers fought, bled and died that we might enjoy them in equal opportunity under the law, and which speculators and promoters are now cornering for personal profit.

So, too, when the monopolists of our anthracite coal fields inflict upon us every two or three years a horrible strike of their coal miners; when the published evidence proves that for a generation past they have been tyrannizing over and brutally impoverishing tens of thousands of their employees; when we know that over twenty thousand helpless little children, who ought to be at

school and play, serve them patiently through full ten hours of each weary working day; when we see them contemptuously insult the Chief Magistrate of this Nation of eighty million freemen; when an honest leader of the striking miners can hold himself in masterful self-control while he deliberately forces these "Christian men" to submit their claims to fair and open arbitration; when a Commission appointed by the President listens to all the evidence and then decides the major portion of the issues in favor of the striking miners—NOW, I say, it is time to go to the bottom of that trouble. For a disinterested Harvard Professor, after eighteen years of personal study of conditions "in that unhappy anthracite region," affirms in print that "the employers will tell you openly and with unconscious bravado that they must get in cheaper and cheaper labor to keep wages down." One of their number also tells that same Harvard Professor that "through railroad control we have got the anthracite where no independent operator can trouble us a bit;" and this after we have proof that all their millions and all their contemptible show of power are based upon a "community-of-interest" monopoly of this little corner of Nature's bounty to mankind. Hence again, I say, it is high time that we look back to see how and why they have been granted title deeds to the land which give them an exclusive and merciless monopoly.

And we don't have to look far!

It was Thomas Jefferson who wrote: "I ever fondly cherished the interests of the West, relying on it as a barrier against the degeneracy of

public opinion from our original and free principles.'' It was also Thomas Jefferson who, for fifteen millions of dollars, purchased from Napoleon Bonaparte the whole of the Louisiana Territory—the most marvelous, unmatched, and absolutely priceless public domain that any ruler ever made a free people heir to. The title deed was written in the Nation's name; the people's money paid for it; and from the day of its purchase to this hour the plain intent of every statute concerning it has been to reserve the lands for homestead settlement, and to reserve the mining claims for those who actually work them. The Lake Superior iron ore deposits were part of our Public Domain. Every title-deed to land, and every mining patent throughout that whole region, is based upon our Congressional statutes providing for the development of that Public Domain. And the underlying principle of all that legislation, as every statute specifically proclaims, is actual occupancy and use. But, contrary to the clear intent of all these national statutes, State laws now permit a small group of rich men to monopolize and hold out of use vast stores of this natural wealth in iron ores; and thus—thus only—a ''community-of-interest'' combination has been formed in Minnesota ore lands which is exactly parallel to the now familiar Trust which controls the anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania.

How to defeat their designs, and how to insure equal and exact justice to all parties concerned, is a problem which sorely perplexes people who have not studied the subject. But the fact is that the way out of the difficulty is as plainly

charted as the familiar courses of Atlantic steamers sailing between the old and the new homes of our race; and all we need do is to refer back to the record to see what our Anglo-Saxon ancestors have done before under similar circumstances.

Writing in *The Engineering Magazine* a few years ago, Mr. W. C. Wynkoop, of Denver, gave this concise review of mining development in the West:

"In the early days in the mining regions, the district laws almost everywhere made lode mining claims from 100 to 200 feet in length along a lode, in most cases only 100 feet, and restricted every man to one claim on a lode, unless he were the discoverer, in which case he was generally given two claims. Gulch or placer mining claims were even smaller. If they were in a narrow mountain valley, they were generally 50 or 100 feet along the stream, reaching from one side of the valley to the other. These district laws everywhere were based upon the theory that every man should have a fair chance at the mining wealth, and that no man should monopolize more than his share. At first there was seldom any law requiring a locator to perform any labor, or do any development work on a claim, the presumption being that no man would take a claim except to work it. But this was soon proven incorrect. There were men who devoted their whole time to acquiring claims, for the purpose of selling them, and this struck the sense of justice as being wrong; so the universal rule soon became one to compel the performance of a certain amount of labor on each claim in order to hold it. The amount of labor required to hold a claim varied from one day per week, to practically constant work. Wherever there had been the most aggravated cases of "hogging" or monopolizing claims, there was sure to be a rule requiring the largest amount of labor. I remember hearing one rough miner-orator addressing a meeting around a camp-fire one night, who said 'air, water, the earth and all its mines belong to humanity, and no man has any human or divine right to monopolize any more of any one of them than he

can use.' And this was a doctrine of use which everywhere became popular, and which was enacted into our present statute regarding unpatented mining claims.

"But there was great annoyance and considerable friction arising from the marked difference in the laws of adjoining districts, and the frequent impossibility of telling in which district a claim might be located, and consequently under what laws it was held. The annoyance from these causes became so great that the enactment of a statute by Congress in 1866, giving men a right to locate and obtain title to mines on the public domain, was welcomed. It promised uniformity where there had been confusion, and immediately upon its passage the district organizations were generally allowed to pass out of existence. Subsequently locations were almost universally made under the United States statutory requirements.

"The old lode locations of 100 feet each were made under district laws framed by men who were almost all ignorant of the art of mining. The object in limiting a man to such a small part of a lode was to prevent the monopoly of too much ground by one man. There was a fear that nature had been very niggardly in her creation of veins, and that unless the size of locations was restricted to small dimensions there would not be enough to go around. It needed but a little experience to demonstrate that 100 feet on a lode was not enough ground to pay for any plan of mining development. On this account the act of Congress of 1866 made the length of a lode location 1,500 feet. But this act did not require locators to do any work annually, or otherwise, to hold their claims. When a man had made a location in compliance with the law, he was under no obligation to do anything more to hold it and retain its legal possession. The result was that the entire known lode-bearing portion of the country was soon covered with locations made by men who were unable or unwilling to develop them. There were numbers of poor prospectors who each had from fifty to two hundred mining locations. The law made them impregnable in their dog-in-the-manger position. The country was being stagnated and the mining industry was being rapidly stifled and killed by this act. The result was seen in the production of precious metals all over the West, outside of the Comstock mines. It was rapidly declining. In Colorado the production for the

14 years preceding the law of 1872 had averaged about $2,000,000 per year. Immediately upon the passage of that act it rose to $4,000,000 the first year, and has been increasing steadily from year to year till it now (1895) equals about $30,000,000 annually. One principal cause of the increase was this change in the law.

"The act (of 1872) changed the rule under which locators could hold claims. It required that on an unpatented claim the locators must annually perform labor to the value of at least $100, and a failure to perform such labor forfeited all his rights, so that the claim became open to location by others. The result was that nearly all the thousands of claims held by men who could not or would not comply with the law, were relocated. Among the best mines in the West are many which were so relocated, and which, but for such a law, would yet probably remain unproductive prospect holes. To this feature of the law of 1872 can be credited much of the impulse given to mining; which in its turn has caused the construction of thousands of miles of railway, built populous cities and towns, and added over a billion dollars to the permanent metallic wealth of the country.

"One can now get a complete title to mining locations by patent, after which he can hold them forever, without compliance with any further conditions. The result is that all over the mining regions there are hundreds of thousands of patented mining properties lying idle and unproductive. There is only this check upon patenting, that it involves some expense, trouble and delay. It is a return in some degree, to the conditions which prevailed between 1866 and 1872, when mine owners owned property which they could not or would not work, and which others could not work. There are many portions of the mining country whose prosperity and development are seriously retarded by the great number of idle patented properties covering them. Of course it would be impossible for the United States to enact any law now which would affect the title of these properties, and impose any conditions upon their owners except upon the basis of compensation to present owners. But it is not impossible to legislate for the future so that the laws may have a tendency to promote mining development instead of retard it. To do this the country has only to adopt a system analogous to that of other countries which are rich in the precious metals. In other words, man can acquire an equitable right to that which he creates; but things which are

a part of nature belong to humanity, and no man has any right to exercise control over them except as he makes use of them."

Now, to make an end of strikes in that "unhappy anthracite region;" to give the operators and the miners no good reason for ever again appealing to the national authorities for settlement of their differences; to free the twenty-odd thousand helpless little children from the awful slavery which is crushing them and cursing us; to insure plenty of work and good wages to all that "absurd surplus of labor which hangs about the mines," and to give the whole Eastern country anthracite coal for our cooking stoves, furnaces, and factory fires, at a normal price, under conditions of free and fair competition in mining—all we need do is apply the simple principle of occupancy and use, under which we have been enriched by the enormous mining development throughout the whole of our Public Domain.

In other words, because Pennsylvania's absurd laws now permit the men who own the coal fields *to hold them out of use,* and because our more absurd national laws permit a few men who control the railroads *to monopolize them,* precisely as Rockefeller and his crowd monopolize the pipe-lines, it is possible for Divine-right Baer's little bunch of anthracite coal barons, boasting their legal rights, to form a "community-of-interest" combination—with Quay leading the politicians, with Olyphant leading the coal-land owners, and with Morgan leading the railroad financiers. And thus, in secret council, they limit the output of anthracite coal; they regulate the wages

which they deem it necessary to pay the one hundred and forty thousand freemen, and their children, who mine the coal; and they arbitrarily fix the price at seaboard for every ton of anthracite that is needed for our home consumption and factory production.

"But time at last sets all things even."

John Mitchell has shown them that workingmen know how to "combine"—and also know how to be reasonable and fair! The Commission which the sturdy miners forced the President to appoint and forced the operators to obey, has also shown what happens when, in open court, we submit our differences to the impartial judgment of a jury of our peers. And thus again—as upon countless occasions before, reaching the full length of our age-long struggle for liberty and opportunity—we see the priceless value of "the ancient right of trial by jury."

Now, proud Pennsylvania, to the front!

We know your history. We know that the peace-loving and ostentation-hating Quakers settled your colony and laid the secure foundations of your free institutions. In early days you boasted yourself the stamping-ground of the forces of patriotism, the meeting house of the Revolution, the very cradle of Liberty. Our immortal Declaration of Independence was signed in your Independence Hall; and the Constitution was thought out, fought out, and actually written in Philadelphia. The liberty-loving boy Benjamin Franklin fled from Massachusetts to find refuge and life-work in your midst; and it was

your freedom, your hospitality, and your opportunities that made possible the manhood and sane maturity which accomplished all the wonderful work that he lived to do. Washington and Jefferson came from Virginia to meet with Samuel Adams and John Adams from Massachusetts; and when these men sat in conference at Philadelphia with Benjamin Franklin, John Dickinson, Robert Morris, Gouverneur Morris and all the lesser leaders from the smaller colonies—they did a work the like of which recorded history nowhere else sets down in print. We know, further, that your fighting freemen followed Washington and followed Jefferson with love and loyalty throughout the whole period of the Revolution, from 1765 to 1800. In 1832 you gave Andrew Jackson a popular majority of over 50,000 votes. In 1860 you gave Abraham Lincoln a still larger vote; and in 1864 you enormously increased the sturdy rail-splitter's majority. In the light of this proud record of patriotic achievement, we do not entertain a doubt that every honest freeman in your borders blushes at the thought of Matt Quay's corrupt domination of your political life.

Now again a noble opportunity is yours.

The specific reform which we ask at your hands —to insure your own peace and prosperity, as well as ours—is a simple amendment of your State laws which will make it impossible for any man, or any combination of men, to hold anthracite coal deposits out of use. In other words, do for your anthracite miners substantially what Congress did for our Western miners in 1872. Amend your mining laws so that any independent

operator with capital, credit, experience, and eager readiness for the productive business of mining coal, may be able to go to the men and women who now own your unused and unproductive coal deposits, and say this: "We desire to buy these mining rights; we are ready to pay a fair price for them at the present market valuation; we pledge ourselves to open and operate the mines; and if you the seller, and we the buyer, cannot agree upon a price, we are willing to submit our differences to the judgment of a jury of our peers." Then grant to these independent operators the further right to build, at their own cost, short branch lines connecting with your trunk-line railroads, so that their products may be shipped to the markets where needed, at the same pro rata rates of transportation which all other coal miners enjoy.

There is nothing new or novel in this proposal. It is just as easy to fix the equitable limits of a coal-mining property, as it is to define a mining claim for gold, silver, lead, copper, iron ore, or any other metal. Coal-mining rights require larger boundaries than precious-metal mining—because the product is less valuable. But the principle is the same, and if we "follow principle, the knot unties itself." Our national statutes show precisely how the thing has been done throughout the whole of the Louisiana Purchase; and any honest coal-mining engineer can readily supply the technical language for a statute prescribing the forms of title-deeds for coal-mining rights. Beyond this, time out of mind, throughout the whole history of the liberty-loving Anglo-

Saxon race, "the ancient right of trial by jury" has been the very basis of all our legal institutions. To this tribunal we have submitted, not alone every property right, but also our liberties, our good names, and our very lives. Jury trial is, in truth, the corner-stone of free institutions—the parting of the ways between right and might, between paternalism and freedom, between monopoly and free competition, between civilization and barbarism. Under monarchy, under aristocracy, and under majority rule; throughout Europe, in America, and everywhere—when freemen have agreed to stop fighting and settle differences fairly, a jury of their peers is the one device which has always been employed.

Mr. Baer, Mr. Olyphant, and every big and little monopolist in that region, will instantly prompt their lawyers, their lackeys, and their newspaper writers to shout Socialism! Anarchy!! Trade-Unionism!!! But never mind their shouting. Jury trial is as old as the ages. Every jury called to pass upon anthracite mining claims should be composed of (1) coal land owners, (2) mining operators, (3) coal miners, and (4) disinterested citizens of the county. Every jury thus composed will know how to bring out all needful testimony as to facts; and not a question as to the price or the equitable boundaries of a mining claim—for a large plant or a small one—but can be decided intelligently and fairly. And when such a jury of twelve franchised freemen render a unanimous verdict, the Judge or the Sheriff of the County, the Governor of the State, or the President of the United States, can quickly as-

semble any needful number of voluntary fighters who stand ever "ready at the call of the laws to fly to the standard of the law," in defense of our ancient right of trial by jury.

We need not bother about disturbing surface, or farm-land, titles in that unhappy country at present.

That reform can wait!

What the anthracite region needs—what the Nation needs—is to now settle this trouble-breeding question of mining monopoly through senseless land titles, and through monopoly control of transportation facilities. Missouri has already drawn the distinction between farm lands and underlying mining claims; and every State Legislature will be ready to follow the lead if we point the way by settling the anthracite mining problem logically, justly, and in accordance with American precedents.

Let Pennsylvania make this needed change in her mining laws, and within a few months thereafter the entire anthracite region will become a perfect bee-hive of prosperous industry. For she has anthracite coal deposits in bounteous plenty—most of them lying idle and unused. There are any needful number of independent operators eager to buy and work the mines upon fair terms; there is already a surplus of sturdy miners and laborers who would be glad of the opportunity to dig the coal at the rates of wages fixed by our President's Commission; there are coal-land owners in great numbers who are not "insiders" and who would be glad to sell at a fair market valuation of their property; and obviously there is

no present or prospective limit to the insistent demand for anthracite coal. All along the Atlantic seaboard we gladly pay double price for it rather than use the smoky bituminous coal which trebles the work of house-keeping; and in the middle West the well-to-do are annually increasing their demands for it. Nor need we worry ourselves in the least about exhausting the supply. For long before the known deposits of anthracite have been mined and burned, Electricity—that magic transformer of the material world—will have liberated us from the whole dangerous and dirty business of mining and burning coal.

The truth is that Pennsylvania—the Meeting-House of the Revolution, the abiding-place of the peace-loving and industrious Quakers in free America—is once more at the post of Honor. We have sketched, in briefest outline, the stirring story of what she was and what she did in the formative period of our national institutions. We have recalled her record-breaking vote for invincible and dauntless Jackson. We know the love and loyalty she gave to level-headed Lincoln. We know the wonders she has wrought in iron and steel manufacture, in railroad building, and in proudly leading the way towards publicity in railroad finance. We have lately seen her amaze the world with the excellence and cheapness of her locomotives and her bridges—produced at the highest rates of wages that skilled mechanics anywhere have ever earned! Knowing these things, I scorn the thought that the freemen who are commissioned to rule the proud Keystone State, by majority vote, will longer submit to that Quayism

which has enabled Carnegie to capitalize Protection profits into his hundreds of millions of first mortgage gold bonds; which has enabled Rockefeller to victimize our oil producers and lay heavy tribute upon every consumer of oil through his absurd monopoly of pipe-line franchises; and which now permits Morgan and a little bunch of impudent and tyrannous coal-land owners to lock up Nature's bounty in anthracite, to force wages down to a standard which entails child-slavery for freemen's children, and then to dictate the price which money-greed sees fit to exact for the fuel of our firesides and our factories.

And I have faith that enlightened Pennsylvania will quickly see her golden opportunity—will again proudly lead the van in giving the world a practical demonstration of legal and orderly methods for solving the whole land question. For that little anthracite region is a world within itself. Right there, in flagrant contrast, we see the extremes of bounteous Nature and avaricious Monopoly; of advanced Enlightenment and helpless Ignorance; of fearless Liberty and soulless Tyranny; of vast Wealth and wretched Poverty; of combined Capital and invincible Labor; of dreamy Socialism and desperate Anarchy; and better than all else besides, we have lately seen Law and Order rise superior to every thought and human motive there actively at work.

Now instead of longer bothering our heads with Plato's ancient dreams of "government ownership," and instead of turning back to monarchical Europe for precedents, in the name of Patriotism, Courage and Common Sense, let us fol-

low the beaten track of legal, orderly, and liberty-loving American precedent. The whole trouble is due to present inequality in our laws. A few men have been permitted to monopolize the railroads. A few other men have been permitted to monopolize the coal lands. They not only own and control the mines they are working, but we have foolishly permitted them to monopolize and hold out of use vast deposits of coal which other men are eager and ready to buy and work, that they may supply the coal which the public demands. The national government can quickly end the railroad monopoly, by simply opening their books and requiring that every shipper shall pay the same pro rata rates for transportation from the mines to the markets. The Pennsylvania legislature can quickly end the monopoly of the coal mines, by simply applying the ages-old law of Eminent Domain.

Legal men will argue that this law applies only where private property is taken for public use. But that is mere technical reasoning—not at all difficult to disprove. When a landowner is required to sell his property to a railroad company for right of way or terminal yards, the transaction is in fact an actual transfer of land from one individual to another—for in the eyes of the law a railroad corporation is an individual. And the law of Eminent Domain is invoked specifically because the public welfare demands that society at large shall be benefited by the building and operation of railroads. In like manner, the public welfare now sternly demands that the monopoly of

mining deposits shall be broken up—that society at large shall be benefited by opening and operating those unused coal deposits.

Thus far our State laws have practically ignored this vital truth. But we can ignore it no longer. Increasing population and the rapid development of our railroad systems have given a market value to every mining claim and every acre of tillable soil within reach of transportation facilities. And the point which I wish to make perfectly clear, is that, following legal precedent, and obeying the dictates of common sense, we settled that last bloody quarrel in the anthracite region precisely as our liberty-loving ancestors solved every problem of granting rights of way for public utilities. That is to say, we appointed a Commission—a disinterested jury of enlightened and enfranchised freemen; and we agreed to abide by their verdict. Had we not done this, the coal mine owners and the coal miners would have gone on fighting each other savagely through a long winter—with results to society at large which I leave imagination to picture!

The solution of that difficulty, and especially the method of its solution, presents a timely lesson in free government to which I now challenge the attention of all thinking men. It teaches that we must appeal to reason instead of to force; it teaches that right is stronger than might; and it demonstrates conclusively that we may safely invoke the law of Eminent Domain and the ancient right of trial by jury as an effective means of peaceably and justly settling every difference as to property rights in natural opportunities.

In short, the higher law of Nature has now taught us, through troubled experience, that the State has no ethical right to authorize one man, or any combination of men, to monopolize and speculate in paper titles to Nature's unused bounty. Mother Earth is the storehouse from which we draw every needful thing that man uses. No living man ever gave one moment of labor to the creation or production of the bounteous riches which she provides. Every letter and line of our legal institutions guarantees equality before the law in the enjoyment of Nature's bounty. That fact is so plain that nothing short of crass ignorance or contemptible pocket-interest will ever dare to dispute it. The coal strike, and especially the means employed for settling it, has now opened everybody's eyes to the fact that the public has a vital and abiding interest in those anthracite coal beds. Since earliest times, "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary," the law of Eminent Domain has been the means whereby the public protects its rights against the avarice of individuals. We have repudiated, and we refuse to tolerate the idea, that our government shall own the coal mines. We have no intention of permitting the government to go into the coal-mining business—Because that is centralization; it is paternalism; and it is wholly un-American. We have no desire to deprive any land owner of his just rights. We mean that every man shall be paid a fair price for his property—as our Constitution specifically guarantees. And our independent coal-mine operators are so well-off and can command so much cash capital, that we

are under no necessity for issuing government bonds to aid them in buying idle and unused coal lands—as Britain is now doing to aid Irish farmers in buying their farm lands.

What we all want, is more coal. The coal is there in bounteous plenty. Millions of capital and little armies of men are ready to mine it upon fair terms. Every possible difference as to the boundaries and the price of the properties, the hours of labor, the rates of wages, and the charges for transportation—all these questions can be quickly settled if the parties to each agreement will simply be frank and fair with each other. And in the absence of that frankness and fairness, our government can perform its whole duty by stepping-in with statute law to say: You MUST be fair; you MUST act upon the principle of EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW, which our Declaration of Independence declares; you MUST permit these sturdy miners to produce all the coal that the people want and need; you MUST have done with this insufferable system of gratifying the greed of a few at the expense of the many; you MUST consent to the rule which permits producers and consumers to freely trade with each other without the intolerable interference of self-seeking politicians of whom Matt Quay is a born leader and perfect type.

And if proud Pennsylvania—the Keystone State—will do her duty as she has often done it before, I well know that ambitious Minnesota will not lag far behind in showing us just how she can supply American freemen with all the iron ore they want and can use—at fair terms to mine

owners and at fair wages to ore miners, under conditions of free and equal opportunity before the law. For Minnesota understands, quite as well as Wall Street, that the unheard-of valuation which the Steel Trust promoters have put upon her iron mines, is due solely to their temporary monopoly. They have captured the mines; they have bought the lake steamers; they own the lake shipyards; they control the railroads through "community-of-interest;" and they have passed the Dingley bill to shut out Canadian ores and all foreign competitors in iron and steel.

> "But Satan now is wiser than of yore,
> And tempts by making rich, not making poor."
>
> "In vain doth Valor bleed while avarice and rapine share the land."

Our grandfathers did not fight the battles of the Revolution, and our fathers did not fight the battles of the Union, that a few millionaires might monopolize our stores of natural wealth, and then arbitrarily dictate the prices which consumers must pay. That is precisely what they are doing now. And there we find bed-rock for the exorbitant prices and fabulous profits of the coal Trust, the steel Trust, the oil Trust, and all the lesser Trusts—which have manufactured Wall Street millionaires wholesale since the passage of the Dingley bill. Monopoly of the wealth which Nature gave us and which valor won for us, is the foundation of the whole elaborate scheme of combination through "community-of-interest." And never till we apply the time-honored principle of occupancy and use can we hope to secure, for our-

selves and our children, that equality before the law, that fair and equal opportunity to enjoy Nature's bounty, which was and is the definite object of American political institutions.

Nor need we worry ourselves for a moment with any fear that Nature has not provided enough for all who desire to mine her wealth. England and Ireland, even France and Germany, may be limited in their stores of natural wealth. But with us, *no living man can now measure the undeveloped and undiscovered possibilities of our mineral deposits.* Talking recently with a man of the first order of intelligence—a man who has spent a lifetime in the iron and steel business, said he: "You could increase the American production of iron from eighteen million to sixty million tons per annum, and after that, I and other men would still have ore, coal and limestone lands to sell—thousands of acres of them." We must not forget that a very few years ago the Lake Superior iron mines were unknown. Two short years ago Rockefeller and his followers were glad to sell the major portion, and the best, of those iron ore deposits to the Steel Trust for something less than $35,000,000. Now that they have combined the little Connellsville coke fields with the control of our present transportation facilities, the Steel Trust promoters tell us that their iron ore and coking coal deposits are worth Seven Hundred Millions of Dollars. But that is because they are playing "legerdemain tricks on paper." This time the paper is in the form of first mortgage gold bonds, second mortgage gold bonds, preferred stock, and common stock—in-

stead of state bank notes, as in Jefferson's time. Mr. Carnegie has told us—truthfully this time—that "the only people who need fear the Trusts, are those who trust them * * * * those foolish enough to go into them." Mr. Carnegie, Mr. Rockefeller, and Mr. Morgan, will probably have occasion to face some angry interviews with stockholders who have been induced to invest their savings in Trust stocks at the valuations which Wall Street has seen fit to put upon these wonder-working combination shares. But again I say, this does not concern us. There are a few thousand lucky Americans who have surplus money enough to "take a flyer" in these unfamiliar and astonishing "industrials." But there are Eighty Millions of liberty-loving Americans who know instinctively—as a race inheritance—that the most precious possession in all the world for ourselves and our children, is a familiar Declaration of Independence, a certain written Constitution, and a specific Homestead Law. Together, they guarantee us EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW. We mean to stand by that Declaration, that Constitution, and that Homestead Law. We have no intention—and we hate the suggestion of a desire—to deprive any man of his property "without due process of law." And we KNOW that not a jot or tittle of that law gives any one man, or any combination of men, the right to monopolize—to hold out of use—the opportunities which Nature has provided.

Now let us face the larger land question.

After centuries of hard fighting and heroic struggle, the dauntless patriots of proud Ireland have at last forced the landed aristocrats of Great

Britain to give Irish farmers the right to own, in fee simple, the lands which they cultivate and live upon. And if patriotic Americans desire to understand the whole Irish land question; if they wish to clearly comprehend the inner meaning of that new bill in Parliament which offers to pledge the high credit of the British Empire to each individual Irish farmer who desires to own the land which he cultivates—let them read the epoch-making little volume by T. W. Russell, entitled "Ireland and the Empire," published in 1901 by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. From the preface of this little book I take this speaking extract:

"I remember, some years ago, discussing the Irish question with some distinguished Americans in the city of New York. I was, of course, pleading the Unionist cause. But I shall never forget the rebuke courteously administered by one of the company who bore an honored name in American history—'Mr. Russell,' he said, 'there is more in this Irish question than you appear to realize. We Americans desire the question settled, not because we wish harm to England, but in order that American politics may be clear of it. It complicates everything here as well as in Great Britain. So please hurry up and solve the problem.' This is quite true. By our methods in Ireland we have sown dragons' teeth in every quarter of the world. An 'understanding' with America—which is Mr. Chamberlain's day-dream in foreign statesmanship—is rendered impossible because of Carlyle's 'idle beggars' dumped down in the States by tens of thousands, owing to the cruel land system which obtained for so long in Ireland.

"Certain it is we pay dearly, alike in meal and in malt, for our method of governing Ireland. For seventy years of the last century Ireland was governed wholly in the interests of a class. The people never had one moment's consideration. The famine, one of those mysterious dispensations by which Providence asserts great principles, was ruthlessly used in the same interests. But Nemesis, long on the road, has at last arrived. The people

are now supreme, alike in Parliament and in the country. Household suffrage and government in the interests of a class cannot permanently exist together. The whole Irish question was settled when the vote was conferred, in the expressive language of the peasantry, on every 'smoke'—*i. e.*, upon every cabin from which the smoke of the turf fire ascends. This is the great fact of the age. This is what in the end will settle everything. The two races which inhabit Ireland will not for ever remain apart, scowling at each other across years of bitter memories. The Protestant will not for ever stand shivering on the banks of the Boyne; the Roman Catholic will not always recall the penal laws. No; they are joining hand in hand even now for common objects. In due time each will learn that much can be conceded with little or no real sacrifice. And when this lesson has been truly learned, Ireland will have real freedom, England will be released from the grip of a nightmare, and the Empire will be really united."

All the world knows that what made America a land of liberty and opportunity for the oppressed of all nations, was our broad acres and fertile fields, our vast extent of woodland wealth, and our inexhaustible stores of every known mineral. All the world knows, too, that good crops make good times. However much we may stimulate inventions and Protect manufactures, without the annual recurrence of Mother Earth's bounteous gifts we should speedily become an impoverished people. A few of us have also taken time to study the history of land titles in America—to probe to the bottom the human motives and the historic records which lie back of those land titles. As fruit of our study and honest thinking, we have found this record of the survival of the fittest of our race, on page 30 of the great volume of 1,343 pages entitled "The Public Domain," by Thomas Donaldson, published by our government printing office in 1884:

"After Gilbert's and Raleigh's attempt to locate colonies under the British flag, from 1583 to 1607, there were but few serious efforts by the English at colonization. But between 1607 and 1733, the settlement at Jamestown and Oglethorpe's arrival in Georgia, a period of 126 years, colonization in America became the rage, and during this interval the thirteen original colonies were settled:

1607. The settlement at Jamestown, Virginia.
1609. Discovery and exploration of the Hudson River, as far as latitude forty-three degrees north, by Henry Hudson.
1620. Landing of the Pilgrims from the Mayflower at Plymouth, Massachusetts.
1622. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason were granted patent for New Hampshire.
1624. First city in Maine chartered—Gorgiana, now York.
1632. Patent of Maryland granted by Charles I to Lord Baltimore.
1636. Roger Williams founded the city of Providence, Rhode Island.
1640. Delaware ceded by the Indians to its occupants; 1682, sold by the Duke of York to William Penn.
1650. First permanent settlement of Carolina by emigrants from Virginia; granted to Clarendon and others by Charles II, and in 1732 separated into North and South Carolina.
1664. New Jersey granted to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret.
1681. Pennsylvania granted to William Penn.
1733. Oglethorpe arrived in Georgia."

Throughout this whole period of Colonial settlement, occupancy and use was the guiding principle of all land grants. That is to say, the companies were chartered because the individuals pledged themselves to occupy the lands in person, and title-deeds were granted to cultivators because they agreed to live upon and use the lands. A few titled individuals, close to the British Kings, acquired monopoly titles to vast landed estates; but in the main the sturdy pioneers who

settled America gained their land titles through pledging themselves to occupancy and use.

George Washington and George Mason were the moving spirits in the famous Ohio Company, which undertook the early settlement of the great middle West—now composed of the States of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Reviewing the history of land titles in Virginia and to the West, Mason wrote what follows (pages 396-7, Vol. I—Rowland's biography):

"Pursuant to the last recited clause, Sec. VII, the said Company in the year 1616 (Sir George Yeardly being then their Governor in Virginia) ordained and ordered that 50 acres of land (*note the limitation*) should be assigned and granted to every person removing himself into the said Colony from Great Britain or Ireland; and to every person who should import others 50 acres for every person so imported. This was the first rise of the ancient custom of granting lands upon Importation Rights, which is now no less than 158 years old. It appears to have been interwoven with the Constitution of the Colony from its first settlement, and constantly practiced afterwards. In the year 1621 two remarkable instances occur. 50,000 acres were granted to one Captn. Newce, for the importation of 1,000 persons, and sixty young maids, being brought over by private adventurers to make wives for the planters; 50 acres of land for each was granted to the persons who imported them.

"Mr. Stith, in his History of Virginia (which is chiefly extracted from ancient records), mentioning this right and custom, had good reason for his remark, 'That this is the ancient, legal, and a most indisputable method of granting lands in Virginia.'

Turning now to Blackstone's Commentaries, section 4 and page 74 of the Introduction, we find this record:

"Plantations or colonies, in distant countries, are either such where the lands are claimed *by right of occupancy only*, by finding them *desert and uncultivated*, and peopling them from the

mother-country; or where, *when already cultivated,* they have been either gained by conquest, or ceded to us by treaties. And both these rights are *founded upon the law of nature,* or at least upon that of nations."

Further along, in Book 1, "Of the Rights of Persons," chapter 1, page 101, Blackstone wrote this:

"So great moreover is the regard of the law for private property, that it will not authorize the least violation of it; no, not even for the general good of the whole community. If a new road, for instance, were to be made through the grounds of a private person, it might perhaps be extensively beneficial to the public; but the law permits no man, or set of men, to do this without consent of the owner of the land. In vain may it be urged, that the good of the individual ought to yield to that of the community; for it would be dangerous to allow any private man, or even any public tribunal, to be the judge of this common good, and to decide whether it be expedient or no. Besides, the public good is in nothing more essentially interested than in the protection of every individual's private rights, as modeled by the municipal law. *In this and similar cases the legislature alone can, and indeed frequently does, interpose, and compel the individual to acquiesce.*

"But how does it interpose and compel?

"Not by absolutely stripping the subject of his property in an arbitrary manner, but *by giving him a full indemnification and equivalent for the injury thereby sustained.* The public is now considered *as an individual, treating with an individual* for an exchange. ALL THAT THE LEGISLATURE DOES, IS TO OBLIGE THE OWNER TO ALIENATE HIS POSSESSIONS FOR A REASONABLE PRICE; and even this is an exertion of power which the legislature indulges with caution, and which NOTHING BUT THE LEGISLATURE can perform."

Having read thus far, we can understand exactly what the immortal penman of American institutions meant when he wrote: "The land belongs IN USUFRUCT to the living, and the dead have no

power over it." Understanding this, we can clearly comprehend, and soon apply, all else that Jefferson wrote upon the subject of land ownership in free America. But it is needless here to go into all that thrilling, purposeful, and clear-eyed record which the greatest of all law givers has left us, upon the subject of land legislation. It is all written, and it is within easy reach of those who want Jefferson's warrant for what I here set down. It is only necessary to quote these brief extracts from his great Ordinance of 1784-87, for "the government of the Western Territory"—the Public Domain which was already ours before the vast Louisiana Purchase:

"No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land; and should the public exigencies make it necessary, *for the common preservation*, to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, *full compensation shall be made for the same.*

"Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged.

"The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways, *and forever free,* as well to the inhabitants of the said territory, as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other States that may be admitted into the confederacy, WITHOUT ANY TAX, IMPOST, OR DUTY THEREFOR."

Now making a clean jump from the records of those heroic, creative, and constructive days of the Colonial and Revolutionary eras, let us see how the worthy scions of the Patriot Fathers wrote their thought and purpose into the immortal statute providing for Homestead settlement upon our

exhaustless Public Domain. And let us not fail to remember—as I make record at the head of this chapter—that the Grand Old Party of the Union fearlessly and purposefully reaffirmed the American principle of occupancy and use in their platform of 1860—upon which Abraham Lincoln was elected President. Turning to the Homestead Law, we find these provisions:

Sec. 212. Every person who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of 21 years, and is a citizen of the United States, or who has filed his declaration to become such, shall be entitled to enter one quarter-section (160 acres) or a less quantity (NOT MORE, TAKE NOTE) of the unappropriated public lands.

Sec. 213. The person applying for the benefit of the preceding section, shall make affidavit that such application is made for his exclusive use and benefit, and that his entry is made for the purpose of *actual settlement and cultivation*, and not, *either directly or indirectly*, for the use or benefit of any other person.

Sec. 216. No certificate, however, shall be given, or patent issued therefor, until the expiration of five years from the date of such entry; and the person making such entry, or his widow, etc., proves by two credible witnesses that he, she, or they have resided upon or cultivated the same for the term of five years; and if any witness making such proof, or the said applicant making such affidavit or oath, swears falsely as to any material matter contained in said proof, affidavits, or oaths, the said false swearing being wilful and corrupt, he shall be deemed guilty of perjury, etc.

Sec. 223. If, at any time after the filing of the affidavit, as required in Sec. 213, and before the expiration of the five years mentioned in Sec. 213, it is proved, after due notice to the settler, to the satisfaction of the register of the land office, that the person having filed such affidavit has actually changed his residence, or *abandoned the land for more than six months at any time*, then and in that event *the land so entered shall revert to the Government.*"

I have never yet had time to learn the name of the man who penned that Homestead Act; and I

shall be greatly indebted to any one who will give me his name, with authentic proof that he wrote it. For among the many millionaires of free America who have been enriched beyond the dreams of desire, I know that we shall have little difficulty in finding one who would account it a priceless privilege to donate all the money needed to erect for that statesman an enduring monument to his clear-eyed, honest, and manly intentions. For any freeman who loves his race, and who has an intellectual appreciation of the natural rights of the producing farmer, cannot fail to see that the man who penned that statute, was planning and writing to protect every interest and hope of father, son, and heirs among individual cultivators of the soil who produce wealth by the honest sweat of their honest brows.

Now what we need at the post of Honor in Washington—be that post of Honor President, Secretary of the Interior, Commissioner of the Land Office, or any strong member of either House of Congress—is a patriot with a jaw-set determination to "shed the last drop of his blood" in giving that Homestead Law a fair enforcement, just as the grand soldier Washington pledged himself to the Constitution. The lineal descendents of feudal aristocrats who have captured titles to tens of thousands of acres of our Public Domain; the "soulless corporations" who now hold monopoly control of nothing less than millions of acres of it; and the big and little speculators who have invested their surplus in fraudulent titles to smaller tracts which aggregate additional millions of acres—these are the men who,

since the Civil War, have been busy in the shameless work of deliberately evading the Homestead Law. They have made the necessary affidavits; they have hired scoundrels to personate the needful "credible witnesses;" and they have wormed through the Land Office their little processions of written forms which have come out in the shape of title deeds. But every living man who knows anything about our Public Domain, and every honest public servant who has been employed in the Land Office during the past forty years—all of these well know that, for every acre deeded to an honest tiller of the soil, at least ten acres have been deeded to corporations and lying pretenders who have never had a thought of cultivating the land. The sole purpose of the monopolists and speculators has been, and is, to gamble in the land titles—to hold the best lands out of use until crowding population forces sturdy farmers to pay them a monopoly price for the privilege of going to work. And to show how actively the shameless business has been progressing—how aggressively it is still going on—I need only quote the following extracts from an urgent report submitted to the United States Senate by the Committee on Public Lands during the last week of February, 1903:

"If our present system of land acts is continued five years longer, the entire public domain suitable for settlement will be exhausted, and there will be no land left for our people who desire to make homes upon it.

"During the first ninety days of the present fiscal year 6,109,000, acres of government land were filed upon. Should this in-

creasing ratio be maintained, between twenty-five and thirty million acres will be taken from the public domain the present fiscal year.

"Instead of following the injunctions of Jackson, Lincoln, Grant, Cleveland, Harrison and Roosevelt, we are making all possible haste under our present most unfortunate land acts to turn over to wealthy men and corporations this rich heritage of the people. The population of the United States, to-day eighty millions, will doubtless reach one hundred and thirty millions in the next twenty-five or thirty years.

"Where will this rapidly increasing population find homes upon the land if we permit the public domain to pass into the possession of men seeking to own and control immense landed estates?

"There should be but one act upon our statute books under which public land can be acquired, and that one act should be a genuine homestead act, which imposes a residence of five years, and continuous cultivation of the soil—an act having no commutation provision attached to it."

Commenting on this report, in a full-page article in *The New York Herald* of March 1, 1903, Mr. J. D. Whelpley wrote what follows. The quotation is rather long—but it is not nearly long enough for land reformers. To the latter I suggest, that they write Mr. Whelpley personally, in care of *The New York Herald,* asking him for a complete copy of his full-page article—or another just like it. Here is what Mr. Whelpley says:

"This report is the first official evidence of a declaration of open war which has been made between those variously concerned with the fate of the remaining public lands.

"The issue is well defined between the big range interests of the West, identical as they are with those of the Beef Trust, and the officers of the United States Government, who are determined that the spirit of the law shall prevail and that the remaining public lands shall be given only to home builders seeking residence thereupon.

"Many years ago Uncle Sam started in the real estate busi-

ness with a landed property amounting to nearly two billion acres. There are now left in the hands of the Government about 500,000,000 acres of this vast empire. Never before in the history of the Land Office has the absorption of this land by private interests been so rapid, so eager, or so stupendous in the acreage involved.

"The laws as they stand to-day were drawn during an era of free land when apparently no thought had to be given for the future. That future has come, however, quicker than was dreamed of by the builders of the Homestead act of 1862; and the laws, which in the past have served a most beneficent purpose, are now shown by the government records and by the reports of government agents and experts to be but a great open door for perjury, fraud and theft of every possible description, which in any way, direct or indirect, can lead to the obtaining of government land by private or corporate interests.

"The above are the reasons set forth by a majority of the Senate Land Committee for recommending the passage of what is known in the Senate as the Quarles bill, and in the House as the Powers bill. The two proposed measures are identical. They are the most radical land legislation which has been proposed in forty years.

"The effect of the enactment of such a measure would be to sweep out of existence the present methods of obtaining government land.

"These are now being used to build up great grazing ranches and land monopolies throughout the western States, constructed by their owners in the fear and realization that the free range is becoming exhausted; and the time is near at hand when the people of the United States will demand that every acre of public land will play its part in the building of a home rather than as incidental pasturage for a cattle baron's long-horned steer.

"In the six years ending July 1, 1903, there will have been taken from the government, under various allegedly legal forms, about one hundred million acres of land. In 1898 a little more than eight million acres were taken. In 1899 a little more than nine million. In 1900 began the agitation for restriction of the land privilege.

"The dictators of the live stock ranges realized the probable results of this agitation, and counted it as an inevitable event of the near future that they should be either ousted from the free

range they now hold as private property, or else will be compelled to pay toll to the people and give some reckoning of their use of this valuable public property.

"Under the lax administration of imperfect laws, it is easy enough for those who so desire to extend their holdings of government land almost without limit; and in the year 1900 operations began upon the gigantic scale which has since aroused the fear and indignation of those charged with the honest administration of the law, and those who have looked upon the economic value of the remaining public land as one of the great national resources in times of stress, either industrial or social.

"Nearly fourteen million acres of land were taken in 1900 from the public domain, a jump of fifty per cent. over the figures of the year before. In 1901 nearly sixteen million acres so disappeared from the government maps. In 1902 nearly twenty million acres was the grand total shown in the Land Commissioner's report, and 1903 promises to make a new record, with an absorption between thirty and thirty-five million acres of land.

"In the eighties, when the Land Office made its great record in caring for home seekers, the population of a State or Territory increased in direct ratio to the number of land claims filed.

"A curious feature of the present land operations of the United States government is, that not only has there been no increase of population noticeable in the States absorbing the largest amount of government land, but it is a fact that in many localities where the acreage disposed of has reached a stupendous total, *there has been an actual decrease of the agricultural population. Men have been driven from their homes to make room for a few range cattle or sheep.*

"Western members of Congress whose political and financial interests are intimately entwined with those of the great range industries, were alarmed at the encouragement given to the forces rapidly coming together to take the exclusive control of the great range States from the hands of those who had been for years farming out this control to the benefit of themselves and their friends.

"They set to work vigorously to stifle any remedial legislation which might be suggested, and to further cultivate the idea, which generally prevails among those indifferent to the matter, that the men who live upon the public lands know best how they should be administered.

"The present Quarles-Powers bill dies with the expiration of the Fifty-seventh Congress. It will be reintroduced next winter. Sufficient progress has been made this year to show that the demand that the public lands should be saved for the home builders, is strong enough to check any legislation in an opposite direction."

I have no personal acquaintance or relationship with Mr. Whelpley, or with any member of the Senate Committee on Public Lands who made the report upon which his notable article was based. But I can tell them each and all, as the result of full twenty years of intent and absorbing study of the literature of the land question, at home and abroad, that every man of them can be sure of winning enduring honor if he will simply follow, with purposeful energy, the native instinct which has prompted him to uphold and defend the spirit and purpose of our priceless Homestead Law.

For in that statute we see the moving force which formed the great party of Freedom; which nominated Fremont, the brilliant soldier and pioneer; which elected Lincoln the Liberator; which put down the rebellion of the slave-owners; which proclaimed anew, as Jefferson planned, that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory;" and which re-affirmed, in language so specific and clear that no hellish cunning can longer evade it, that every acre of our vast Public Domain should be reserved for the actual settlement and cultivation of American freemen and their families.

In the generation which has lived since that statute was enacted, the land-grabbers have been so busy with their shameless work that the major

portion of our vast Public Domain has been plastered over *with mere paper titles.* But happily, a free press can render such efforts idle. Thinking freemen, who know how to hold themselves, as well as how to fight, are not to be denied the substance of things. We know what our fathers fought for—and now we mean to have it! For instead of being ruled by landed aristocrats, as all Europe has been ruled for ages past, we rule ourselves by majority vote. And we have fought for and control the votes!

There was a time in this country, little more than a generation ago, when men seeking work could always find it; when the pauperism that we suffer from to-day did not exist; when child-slavery was a thing *unthinkable;* when wages were steady and sure, as well as high—*and a vast Public Domain, offering opportunity to every man who would voluntarily select to work upon it, was the obvious explanation:*

"Come along, come along, make no delay;
Come from every nation, come from every way;
Our lands they are broad enough, so have no alarm,
For Uncle Sam is rich enough to give you all a farm."
—A familiar song before the War.

Our broad acres and fertile fields, our vast forests, and our inexhaustible stores of useful minerals—all these are still here. They lie fallow and undisturbed, with the exception of a portion which even now is small as compared with possibilities of the whole. But wherever one goes he will find a land-speculator with a paper title to every square foot of vacant and unused land worth owning. Everywhere he will find the

agents and promoters of a "community-of-interest" monopoly of land in which thousands of individuals—from widows and orphans to gigantic corporations—are striving to participate. And without regard to location of the land, or condition in life of the owner, all alike are inspired by a common interest and a single aim: To hold for a rise, *regardless of consequences to society at large.* This, with Protection and Panic, gives the complete explanation of the pauperism and child-slavery which have so recently come to curse us: The land-grabbers and vacant-land speculators have locked up natural opportunities; the Protection schemers have maintained a tariff wall within which they have enriched themselves by taxing the people through exorbitant prices for practically everything we use and consume; and Panic, that dread scourge of ring-rule and *delusion,* has come periodically to plunge millions of freemen into a misery and servitude which numbers its helpless victims by tens of thousands in every passing year.

This infamy must and shall be ended!

And to end it, we need only appeal to that Manly Courage and Common Sense which our Fathers bred into us.

Throughout all recorded history strong men, thinking only of *self,* have relied upon land monopoly as the basis of their power. Trace back the record of every King who has ruled over a people, and you will never fail to find that he claimed title to every square foot of land in his dominions. All feudal history is a mere record of how Land

Lords proclaimed their land titles; then formed a "community-of-interest" combination with Kings Dukes, Princes, Barons and Sir Knights; and then marshaled their armies of EMBATTLED FARMERS on the border-line to bid defiance to invaders. But in the course of time, and after centuries of conflict, the men who did *both the fighting and the work* learned the fine art of intelligently directing their combined power.

Oliver Cromwell was a country gentleman and a farmer. He felt and saw the evils that the freemen and farmers of his time suffered—AND HE UNSHEATHED THE SWORD IN DEFENSE OF THEIR JUST RIGHTS! Being both honest and able, he quickly rose to supreme command. He led his invincible Ironsides to successive victories; he beheaded a King for high crimes against the people; as Protector of the Commonwealth he spurned the title of King; and writing the proudest page in Britain's constitutional history, he fought, and ruled, and lived, and died, in honest advocacy of the rights of the sturdy tillers of the soil—who make possible the productive work of all other men, no matter what their calling.

And brave Cromwell did not fight in vain!

For while he lived to fight out his immortal mission at home, thousands of freemen of his race sped to these shores to re-enforce their brothers in demanding that the unused and uncultivated acres of a whole continent MUST be reserved for those who select to till the soil. It was a farmer's son, bred of Cromwell's stock, and inspired by the same high motives, who penned the Declara-

tion of Independence, who re-wrote the Virginia Code as a model for all the States, who worded the essential phrases of the great Ordinance providing for the Homestead settlement of our Western lands, who added the vast Louisiana Purchase to our Public Domain, and who, time and again, throughout his imperishable writings, reiterated in varying phraseology this message to the fighting freemen of his race:

"Cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous; and they are tied to their country and wedded to its liberty and interest by the most lasting bonds."

This was the teaching which, during the Revolution, freed us from the curse of primogeniture and entailed estates in land. And that same teaching inspired our fathers to enact the Homestead Law—while matchless armies of American freemen were in the field bravely fighting and bravely dying in defense of our institutions! During the Civil War, as throughout the Revolution, they thought so clearly, they fought so effectively, and they wrote their will in statutes so specific and unmistakable, that no sane man need now be led astray. In the Declaration of Independence they proclaimed equality before the law. In the Constitution they prescribed the system under which we might enjoy that equality. And in the Homestead Law they wrote the beginning and the end of that rule of action which will insure every freeman an equal opportunity to own a home and till his broad acres, free from the tribute of a feudal Land Lord.

Now again I say, let us be sensible.

Throughout weary centuries of time the patient workers of all Europe have been fighting for the simple right to own and cultivate the soil in peace. Our forefathers came here because they were weary of senseless and savage conflict over the feudal system of enslaving other men to the *service of Land Lords.* Time and again, in season and out of season, on the firing line, and in every House of Representatives, our ancestors have proclaimed that the man who cultivates and uses the land is the one who deserves, desires, and, in the end, will demand—by the might of right—that protection against tyranny and land-monopoly which our Government has been instituted to afford.

Private property in land is the very corner-stone—the enduring foundation—of all modern and enlightened civilization. But just as every manly freeman is resolutely determined to own in fee simple his home, his farm, his factory, and his mine; so every enlightened freeman must now *awake to the injustice and senseless folly of permitting monopolists and speculators in vacant and unused land to doggedly stand in the way of those who are ready and eager to use, to improve, and to produce from the bounteous opportunities which Nature has provided.*

And just so surely as private property in land is the most sacred right for which freemen have been fighting throughout all time gone before, so the few of us who have had opportunity for study and travel, now clearly understand that the tap-root of our difficulties, the root which reaches deepest into Mother Earth, is cunning and con-

scienceless evasion of that priceless Homestead Law. For we know that if our precious right to own the land we use, and to enjoy the full fruits of our honest labor, is to be preserved for ourselves and our children, we MUST now concern ourselves with the serious business of protecting every other freeman in the enjoyment of an equal right and opportunity. Fortunately, also, our affairs are now in such posture that there is no need of further fighting, no need of panic, and no need of serious trouble in setting our land question squarely to rights.

We know what peasant-proprietorship has done for proud France since the Revolution of 1789. We see the wonders which have been wrought within a generation since United Germany gave her farmers the right to own the acres which they till. And, as I write, the British Parliament is in the act of pledging the credit of the Empire for the benefit of Irish farmers who desire to own, and who pledge themselves to cultivate, the lands to which they take title. In the light of these examples, and with our past an open book, the land question here becomes as simple as a b c. The FIRST step, is to reserve every square foot of the remnant of our Public Domain for the actual use of freemen who pledge themselves, without qualification, to live upon and cultivate it. The NEXT step, is to challenge, uncover, and destroy every title to any portion of that Public Domain which has been fraudulently obtained—ALWAYS EXCEPTING, AND ALWAYS PROTECTING AND LEGALLY CONFIRMING, the titles of the men and women who are now living upon and actually using it.

That will open up the whole land question.

Instantly every dog-in-the-manger who is speculating in vacant land will take alarm. He will see the weakness of his position; he will know that he is performing no useful service and doing nothing to produce wealth; he will understand that all society has a pocket-interest in ending his damaging monopoly; and he will be quick to reckon the insignificant number of vacant land speculators in comparison with the millions who have built upon and are actually using the lands to which they rightly hold titles.

And like the coal barons and the iron-ore monopolists, the land speculators will raise a mighty shout of Revolution! Anarchy!! Socialism!!! But let them shout—and the louder they shout the faster the good work of education will go forward! The mortal defect in our State land laws is the legal right of individuals to monopolize—to hold out of use—vacant land and unused mineral deposits. That defect is so obvious—and so senseless—that it needs but to be pointed out. And the true way to point it out, the true line of conservative and definite action now, is to CONCENTRATE ALL OUR FIRE UPON THE INFAMOUS FRAUDS WHEREBY THE PEOPLE HAVE BEEN ROBBED OF TITLE DEEDS TO MILLIONS UPON MILLIONS OF ACRES OF OUR PRICELESS AND INEXHAUSTIBLE PUBLIC DOMAIN. The Homestead Law is there to guide us on our way; the invincible courage and common sense of the American people will protect every man in the enjoyment of his just rights; and it is nothing short of senseless folly to suppose that disinterested juries of enlightened

American freemen can not rightly decide every question as to what public lands are vacant, and what mines lie fallow and unused.

"The land belongs IN USUFRUCT to the living, and the dead have no power over it.

"*Institutions must advance and keep pace with the times.* We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy, as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of their barbarous ancestors."

—*Thomas Jefferson.*

We have heard much in recent years of great landed estates in Ireland, in England, and throughout all Europe. The millions of downtrodden and oppressed peoples who have flocked to our shores in emigrant ships since the Civil War, give abundant and pathetic testimony to the unspeakable evils of landlord tyranny in Europe. These people who come to us in menacing numbers are not skilled artisans. It is not possible for them to compete in our machine shops and factories with the puissant race of young and intellectually alert mechanics which our free institutions have bred and nurtured. But of each shipload of European emigrants who come, probably seven in every ten—men and women alike—are enured to manual labor. Most of them have actually tilled the earth. The natural and immediate place for them in our economy, is to make them farm laborers—and to inspire every man and woman among them with the high hope of working hard, working early and late, that they may earn money enough to become PROPRIETARY FARMERS.

Therein we find the ennobling thought and central purpose of the great men who founded

our institutions, and who wrote our Emigration and Homestead Laws. But forgetful of that thought and purpose; each man busy with his personal concerns; and most of us indifferent and neglectful of politics—we have simply forgotten the words and the meaning of our Homestead Law. Thus, and thus only, have schemers and monopolists been permitted to capture paper titles to nearly the whole of our Public Domain:—to lock up natural opportunities, and to crowd an increasing population into fierce and pauperizing competition for *the chance to work* in our cities and manufacturing industries. And thus it has come about that, IN FREE AMERICA, we now have landed estates which number MILLIONS OF ACRES, while down-trodden Europe numbers her landed estates in THOUSANDS OF ACRES.

> "Know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free."

The scientific, the economic, the political, and the spiritual Truth which we now need to comprehend, is that the one and only form of wealth which can halt and hamper progress—which can PERMANENTLY ENSLAVE THE MANY TO THE SERVICE OF THE FEW—is title-deeds to land which the owner neither rents, uses, nor improves. That dog-in-the-manger policy has been making trouble throughout historic time. But I know nothing of the race of freemen who bred me, if I be mistaken in saying that the time is full ripe to have done with SO SENSELESS AND SINFUL A SYSTEM.

We are a thinking people. We have fought our way bravely to the point of vantage which we now

occupy—Securely! We love Liberty. We are determined that we, and ours, shall enjoy Opportunity. We spurn and despise every suggestion that we desire to use each other unfairly—much less to enslave and oppress weaker races, at home or abroad. We stand squarely for the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Homestead Law. And thus we stand, because we have lived to learn that the law of Eminent Domain, with its peace-giving right of trial by a jury of our peers, can solve every problem in land ownership which now confronts us.

"Let us have faith that right makes might."
—*Abraham Lincoln.*

Now let liberty-loving and time-honored Pennsylvania show the world what equality of opportunity means in coal mining. Let puissant and invincible Minnesota prove that she knows how to regulate every freeman's natural right to mine unused deposits of iron ore. And let every thinking American be ennobled by inwardly pledging himself to a resolute determination to stand true to the principles of Our Homestead Law: Do these things, and our whole land question will settle itself so peacefully, so gradually, so prosperously, and so surely, that historians of the future will wonder how so simple a problem could ever have troubled us. For in comparison with the millions who occupy and use the lands which they own, the speculators in vacant and unused natural opportunities are insignificant in numbers and powerless when confronted by reason and simple justice. Instead of rendering any useful service,

they are actually forestalling the production of wealth. Instead of investing their surplus capital in productive industry or improvements, they are blindly speculating in monopoly rights to prevent other men from going to work. Instead of benefitting society, they are simply halting and injuring us—daily, hourly, and immeasurably.

Not a railroad now in existence but would be immensely benefitted by ending so senseless a system. Merchants, bankers, and manufacturers would profit by every sale of vacant land to an improving owner. Miners, mechanics, and all working men would enjoy an ever-widening demand for productive labor. And all society would prosper INEVITABLY through the restoration of the natural, legal, and time-honored right of every American to acquire, UPON FAIR TERMS, free title to vacant land for productive industry and useful improvement.

It is silly fear or selfish folly which supposes that there will be any danger or difficulty—any departure from world-tried precedent—in applying the law of Eminent Domain to vacant and unused lands. Not a question that may arise between buyer and seller—as to occupancy, as to use, as to intentions, or as to price—but can be quickly, peaceably, and equitably settled by a disinterested jury of our peers. And if owner and user can not agree as to terms, then indeed it is high time for the State to perform its natural function, by stepping in to say: You MUST be fair and reasonable with each other; you MUST conform to that equality before the law which is plainly written in our institutions; you MUST live

up to our guarantee that every freeman shall enjoy his right to "life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness" through the use of Mother Earth's bounty in natural opportunities for productive labor.

I am one of those who believe that this re-assertion of the American principle of occupancy and use, as the basis of mining and land titles, would do almost more than all things else to restore the happy conditions of freedom, opportunity, and progressive development which our fathers enjoyed in fullest measure between 1789, when Washington went to the Presidency, and 1861, when that fatal shot at Fort Sumter doomed us to the awful necessity of suppressing rebellion against "our Union, the last anchor of our hope." But I am very far from believing that this long step forward would prove a cure-all. I have lived to learn that the regeneration of society is a slow and gradual work of time. The elements which contribute to its attainment are so many and so varied that each must overlap and interlace all the others. I am convinced that we can never hope for uniform prosperity and the steady growth of our manufacturing industries, until we attain, in practice, that ideal of free trade with all the world which even believers in Protection admit to be sound in logic. Recurring paroxysms of financial panic are certain to follow each other in successive periods of time, until we make a patriotic business of enacting into statute law the plain teaching of the four awful panics we have suffered. We must have Publicity in corporation management and finance, or the men

to whom the people have granted these priceless franchises will make never-ending trouble for us. And beyond these mere fiscal reforms, the armies of the Christian world must go on doing battle for the right and uplifting the moral nature of mankind—until prison bars become needless for restraining evil-doers! That good time is yet afar off. But, meanwhile, the reform which clears the way for all other reforms—the reform which will surely give us the full fruits of every other move towards the right—is to liberate Mother Earth's fertile fields and exhaustless treasures, which now lie fallow and untouched. When that step is taken, just so surely as the spirit of progress and invention is abroad, just so surely as time goes on, we may look for the early dawn of a day when, in the language of the late David A. Wells, "human poverty will mean, more distinctly than ever before, physical disability, mental incapacity, unpardonable viciousness, or laziness."

FROM JULIUS CÆSAR TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

"Till the war-drum throbbed no longer, and the battle flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.
There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber lapt in universal law."

—*Alfred Tennyson.*

"My creed had been formed on unsheathing the sword at Lexington."

"By the God that made me, I will cease to exist before I yield to a connection on such terms as the British Parliament propose."

"Convinced that the Republican is the only form of government which is not eternally at open or secret war with the rights of mankind, my prayers and efforts shall be cordially distributed to the support of that we have so happily established."

"It is indeed an animating thought that, while we are securing the rights of ourselves and our posterity, we are pointing out the way to struggling nations who wish, like us, to emerge from their tyrannies also. Heaven help their struggles and lead them, as it has done us, triumphantly through them."

—*Thomas Jefferson.*

Chapter XII.

Plain-spoken and courageous old Thomas Carlyle never rendered mankind a nobler service than when he pointed out that history is little more than the story of the work of truly great men. It was thus that he divined the inner meaning and far-reaching significance of the splendid

work that Oliver Cromwell lived to do; and it was thus that he restored to Cromwell, and to all mankind, the written records of the ever-living fact that the grim old Christian soldier, as Protector of the Commonwealth, did all that mortal man could do, in his time and circumstance, to destroy tyranny and to preserve and extend the blessings of constitutional liberty.

John Hampden was there to aid old Oliver manfully; John Milton was there to win immortality with a pen which labored incessantly in defense of the constitution; the invincible Ironsides were there to fight and win Liberty's battles; and, together, they put a tyrant King to the block to prove that they knew their rights and dared maintain them. Verily, it was Oliver Cromwell who wrote, in deeds of Christian valor, the proudest page in the history of England's age-long defense of constitutional liberty. And if thinking Americans will now delight leisure hours with reading Carlyle's "Life and Letters of Oliver Cromwell," and Dr. John Fiske's "Beginnings of New England," they can not fail to get a light upon American ideals of government, in contrast with the Feudal systems of all Europe, which will make all our present-day problems simple enough—as indeed they are simple, when once we understand them.

In the first chapter of Dr. John Fiske's imperishable little book, busy Americans will find the most remarkable piece of historical writing that has ever yet been penned. For there, within the compass of fifty brief pages, this unmatched and peerless interpreter of history has be-

queathed to mankind a sketch of the European past which reads like a thrilling story, which embraces every significant event, and which, with the clear vision of a modern scientist, links the present to the past with irresistible logic and sequence. And this matchless chapter of world-history is priceless to those who have had little time for reading and study, because it provides nearly all the information needful for accurately measuring the grand work of the one truly great man in Roman history.

Julius Cæsar conquered Europe.

It is in the Julian Code, and in the records of Cæsar's thought and work, that we find the clear outlines of every theory and system of government that has swayed the scepter of power in Europe since Cæsar's time. Napoleon was shrewd enough to see this; and Napoleon's utmost aim, the last limit of his imagination, was simply to duplicate what Cæsar had already done. But he failed utterly in the effort to establish a second world-Empire, because Napoleon's narrow and brutal selfishness dwarfed him to the stature of an intellectual pigmy beside Julius Cæsar. In like manner, every monarch who has ruled, and every general who has fought since Rome fell, has simply tried to do on a narrow national scale what Cæsar did magnificently for the Empire which conquered, incorporated, and ruled the European world. And to-day all Europe—excepting glorious little Switzerland—is still held firmly in the grip of kingly and aristocratic rule, solely because European statesmen can not see beyond their national boundary lines.

France is indeed a Republic in name, and the ideals of that great people are essentially and soundly republican. But the social recognition of the titled aristocracy, and, especially, the highly-centralized system of government which Napoleon fastened upon her, deprives the French people of the indispensable right of local self-government; keeps them in ignorance of true republican liberty; and hence, in effect, the system differs little from the liberalized monarchies and aristocracies which surround and menace France. But out of the wreck of the Revolution of 1789, the puissant Gauls firmly grasped peasant-proprietorship of the land; and ever since, they have grimly held fast to the fundamental right of every man who tills the soil to own it, in fee simple, for the benefit of himself and heirs. On that secure foundation they are steadily nursing and prudently building the individual citizenship and the unconquerable love of personal liberty which are destined to lead the van of modern Europe—as the Gauls have often led before!

But to return to Julius Cæsar.

Mr. F. Marion Crawford has lately published a delightful work, entitled "Ave Roma Immortalis," which I take great pleasure in commending to my readers. Mr. Crawford evidently wrote the book to meet the requirements of thousands of well-to-do Americans who annually visit Rome, and who desire to understand the history and meaning of that giantism in architecture of which Rome is the repository of the past. But in his opening chapter Mr. Crawford gives us a philosophic and historical picture of

splendor, wealth and mad extravagance in ancient Rome, which I am sure it will profit Americans of the living generation to con-over and think about. For if we now recall the record of how the nobles of ancient Rome combined war and politics, and wine and women, in the great game of moving armies and massing millions wherewith to found patrician families—I fancy we shall soon wake-up to the meaning of present tendencies in the United States, if we permit them to go on unchecked.

In this book Mr. Crawford gives us the following graphic sketch of Julius Cæsar's work, and its phenomenal influence over the thought of every soldier and statesman who has lived in Europe since Cæsar's time:

"The greatest figure in all history suddenly springs out of the dim chaos and shines in undying glory, the figure of a man so great that the office he held means Empire, and the mere name he bore means Emperor to-day in four empires—Cæsar, Kaiser, Czar, Kaisar—a man of so vast power that the history of humanity for centuries after him was the history of those who were chosen to fill his place—the history of nearly half the twelve centuries foretold by the augur Attus, from Romulus, first King, to Romulus Augustulus, last Emperor. He was a man whose deeds and laws have marked out the life of the world even to this far day. Before him and with him comes Pompey, with him and after him Mark Antony, next to him in line and greatness, Augustus—all dwarfs compared with him, while two of them are failures outright, and the third could never have reached power but in his steps.

"In that long tempest of parties wherein the Republic went down forever, it is hard to trace the truth, or number the slain, or reckon up account of gain or loss. But when Cæsar rises in the center of the storm the end is sure and there can be no other, for he drives it before him like a captive whirlwind, to do his bidding and clear the earth for his coming. Other men, and

great men, too, are overwhelmed by it, dashed down and stunned out of all sense and judgment, to be lost and forgotten like leaves in autumn, whirled away before the gale.

"Creation presupposes chaos, and it is the divine prerogative of genius to evolve order from confusion. Julius Cæsar found the world of his day consisting of disordered elements of strength, all at strife with each other in a central turmoil, skirted and surrounded by the relative peace of an ancient and long undisturbed barbarism.

"It was out of these elements that he created what has become modern Europe, and the direction which he gave to the evolution of mankind has never wholly changed since his day. Of all great conquerors he was the least cruel, for he never sacrificed human life without the direct intention of benefiting mankind by an increased social stability. Of all great lawgivers, he was the most wise and just, and the truths he set down in the Julian Code are the foundation of modern justice. Of all great men who have leaped upon the world as upon an unbroken horse, who have guided it with relentless hands, and ridden it breathless to the goal of glory, Cæsar is the only one who turned the race into the track of civilization and, dying, left mankind a future in the memory of his past. He is the one great man of all, without whom it is impossible to imagine history. We cannot take him away and yet leave anything of what we have. The world could have been as it is without Alexander, without Charlemagne, without Napoleon; it could not have been the world we know without Caius Julius Cæsar."

Instantly the practical man will ask, If Cæsar's work was so supremely great, why did it end in such awful disaster? The answer is simple enough. Jesus Christ was born forty years after Cæsar was assassinated. That event not only changed the whole course of human history, but it gave us a new political philosophy to which the Romans were strangers.

The nobles who foully murdered Cæsar knew little, cared less about, and practiced none of that philosophy which teaches the brotherhood of

man, and which, in political affairs, enjoins equality before the law. But Cæsar's work plainly shows that his natural genius enabled him to divine much of the worldly wisdom of present-day Christian philosophy. For the true secret of his power and unexampled success, is to be found in his humanity, his generosity, and his studied consideration of the interests and natural aspirations of others. He firmly held the love and loyalty of his soldiers, and he led them to unexampled victories, because he was quick to extend honest recognition and generous reward to every man who did his work ably and with success. He incorporated conquered peoples into the Empire with a rapidity unheard-of in history, because he promptly recognized and honored their natural leaders, who could be trusted; and he invariably gave them a wiser, juster, and happier rule than they had ever known before. And to the whole people he proved himself a Grachus, for with nothing less than lasting title-deeds to land, he forged the bonds of love and fellowship with every Roman citizen who was content to till the soil.

> "Upon what meat doth this our Cæsar feed,
> That he has grown so great?"

There was far too much equality before the law—far too much democracy—in Cæsar's system, to suit the tastes, ambition, and philosophy of his pagan rivals. And so, in true heathen fashion, they murdered him—in the vain hope that they might be rid of him.

Now, note the foresight of the man.

The Julian Code had been written, and Cæsar's record had been wrought out in deeds of matchless valor, in acts of unheard-of generosity and fairness to conquered peoples, and in utterly-fearless disregard of revenge upon personal rivals. Time and again he spurned and refused the empty title of King—asking only to be known as Cæsar. In his will he bequeathed all his wealth to the people—whom he loved, and whom he had served to the last limit of his great abilities. For he had feasted upon all that wealth, splendor, and power could give; and he had brain enough to see that the highest satisfaction, the supremest pleasure, and the noblest reward that the human mind can ever know, is a reasoning and conscious determination to do all that mortal power can do to increase the happiness of all mankind.

And when Cæsar faced the final accounting; when he measured the dangers that he well knew were about him; and when, in the light of his life-long and heroic experience, he deliberately made ready for his taking-off—what then did he do? He selected a mere youth as his successor—a nephew of eighteen, whose breeding he knew all about, and whose mind he had tutored and trained. And he selected that boy in preference to many able men whom he knew, and to whom he was related by ties of blood-kinship, solely because life's lessons had taught him that young men of brains and power, in the vigor of physical growth and ambitious manhood, will fight true to honest ideals and convictions. Let them live to maturity; let them battle with sordid selfishness and jealous rivalry; let them see public

characters winning wealth and power through governmental privilege and shameless resort to corrupt practices; let them, in short, study what we see about us daily and hourly—and how few, alas, have courage enough to go on through life fighting true to conscience and principle! Cæsar reasoned that he could trust young Augustus to carry his work further than any man in Rome whom he knew—and he reasoned rightly. For Augustus had so much of the old man in him, physically and by training, that he lived to enact the proudest records in all the annals of kingly rule. "All roads lead to Rome," and even now thinking travelers linger and dwell in "the Eternal City," because, during sixty years' reign, Augustus made Rome a city of material splendors, magnificence, and power, the like of which mankind has never known in this or any other time.

But, alas, great Rome fell!

That fact, to my thinking, makes it perfectly clear that Augustus, and all the Emperors who followed him, were intellectual children in comparison with the genius who won the victories, wrote the laws, and founded the system which dominated Europe and made Rome the greatest civil and military power of all history—an achievement so grandly great that to this late day the world is held spell-bound in admiration of its laws, its system, and its material splendors.

And picture what might have happened to change the course of history had great Cæsar ruled in Rome when the Master came out of

Nazareth to teach us the duty we owe to others, as Epicurus and those before him had already taught the duty we owe to ourselves. Through nineteen long and bloody centuries self-seekers —strong men who love money and dominion over others—have been halting, holding back, and confusing the political significance of the Master's teaching. But in this enlightened age, standing firmly upon the high points of vantage won for us by those gone before, it requires little penetration to comprehend that the lesson of Roman history teaches simply, that pagan Cæsar had genius enough to foresee dimly, but with high courage of conviction, the fundamental truths which our institutions proclaim, namely: that all men are born equal before the law, and that they are endowed by Nature with full right to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness.

> "Know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free."

Thinking men well know that the advent of Christianity has changed the whole course of political history; and to Dr. John Fiske belongs the imperishable honor of having penned the most scientific and complete explanation of how and why it has done its work. For us here, it will suffice to say that Thomas Jefferson towers majestically as a law-giver far greater than Cæsar, because he lived in an age which enabled him to estimate the moral teaching of the Master at its full worth politically. He knew and clearly comprehended every thought and motive that moved Cæsar in all his work; and beyond that,

he had the genius, the high courage, and the matchless constructive statesmanship that were needful—after eighteen centuries of experiment and failure— to give legal and positive effect to a system of government which closely conforms to the doctrine of the brotherhood of man. Equality before the law; absolute freedom in religious thought and worship; and education as the secure basis for manhood suffrage—these were the cardinal principles which moved him in all his life-long and purposeful work. And this we know from the simple inscription which he penned for "a small granite obelisk" to mark his tomb, "in case any memorial should ever be thought of."

HERE LIES BURIED
THOMAS JEFFERSON.
Author of the Declaration of Independence,
Of the Statutes of Virginia for Religious Freedom,
And Father of the University of Virginia.

I shall not here attempt any finely-phrased panegyric of Thomas Jefferson. That is a loving task which some genius of expression will perform in the future. We are not now concerned with fine phrases. We are immediately concerned with the practical problems of every day life. The serious business which now confronts us, is how to make it possible to earn an honest living for ourselves and our families, without this haunting fear of poverty, panic, and dependence upon somebody's charity. Uncertain wages day by day, for full ten hours of hard work, with the loss of a job ever threatening;

an insecure weekly salary paid only for faithful service, in free competition with all comers; an annual crop sold to brokers who represent speculators and Trusts; a mercantile, manufacturing, or mining business which must submit to the heavy tribute and soulless domination of combinations and railroads; an income from honest savings which are always subject to the dangerous manipulation of Wall Street promoters; and a set of self-seeking politicians who torture us with senseless threats of another panic, and whose sole stock in trade is boasts of prosperity and "a full dinner pail"—these are insecure conditions which have become intolerable to an overwhelming majority of intelligent American freemen. And it seems to me that if I set down here, in chronological order, a simple record of what Thomas Jefferson actually did to give us liberty, opportunity, peace, and security in our daily pursuits, it will afford an accurate measure of the man's true greatness; and beyond that, it will show that his teaching and example now offer an easy solution for every problem which perplexes us.

Let us begin with the historic event which shaped the course of his native State, and which gave political inspiration and direction to the future author of the Declaration of Independence, at the moment he entered upon his serious life-work. In his appreciative biography, published in 1832, B. L. Rayner has left us this inspiring short story:

"Immediately upon leaving college, Mr. Jefferson, engaged in the study of law, under the direction of Mr. Wythe. Here,

it is said, fired by the example of his master, he performed the whole circuit of the Civil and Common Law; exploring every topic with precision, and fathoming every principle to the bottom. Here, also, he is said to have acquired that unrivaled facility, neatness, and order in business, which gave him, in effect, in every office that he filled, 'the hundred hands of Briareus.' With such a guide, in a school of such exalted and searching discipline as that of the Law, all the rudiments of intellectual greatness could not fail of being stirred into action. Aided by the propitious circumstances of the times, they exhibited a rapid and portentous development in the man who was destined to humble the pride of hoary legitimacy, and prostrate its artificial scaffolding in the dust. The occasion was not long wanting, which was fitted to evoke the master-passion of his nature in bold and prominent relief. His faculties were just fledging into manhood; they had begun to assume their distinctive flight; and to indicate a novel and illimitable range. At this decisive moment an accident occurred which riveted them to their meditated sphere, and kindled the native ardor of his genius into a flame of fire. It was the celebrated speech of Patrick Henry, on the memorable resolutions of 1765, against the Stamp Act. Young Jefferson was present and listened to the 'bold, grand, and overwhelming eloquence' of the Orator of Nature; the effect of which seems never to have lost its sorcery over his mind. More than fifty years afterwards, he reverts to it with all the vividness of the first impression. 'He appeared to me,' says he, 'to speak as Homer wrote.' The resistance to the last resolution was 'most bloody;' but the genius of Henry rose with the pressure of the occasion, and descended in 'one incessant storm of lightning and thunder,' upon his opponents. The effect was indeed tremendous; it struck even that veteran and dignified assembly aghast. The resolutions were moved by Henry, and seconded by Mr. Johnston, a member from the Northern Neck. They were resisted by the whole monarchical body of the House of Burgesses, as a matter of course; and, besides, they were deemed so ill-advised in point of time, as to rally in opposition to them all the old members, including such men as Peyton Randolph, Wythe, Pendleton, Nicholas, Bland, etc., honest patriots, whose influence in the House had till then been unbroken. 'But,'

says Jefferson, 'torrents of sublime eloquence from Henry, backed by the solid reasoning of Johnston, prevailed. The last, however, and strongest resolution, was carried but by a single vote. The debate on it was most bloody. I was then but a student, and stood at the door of communication between the house and lobby during the whole debate and vote; and I well remember that, after the numbers on the division were told and declared from the Chair, Peyton Randolph, the Attorney-General, came out at the door where I was standing, and said, as he entered the lobby, "By G—d, I would have given 500 guineas for a single vote: for one vote would have divided the House, and Robinson was in the chair, who he knew would have negatived the resolution." It was in the midst of this magnificent appeal, so electrifying to his impassioned auditor, that Henry is said to have exclaimed, in a voice of thunder, and with the look of a god, "Cæsar had his Brutus—Charles the First his Cromwell—and George the Third—['Treason,' cried the Speaker—'treason, treason,' echoed from every part of the House. It was one of those trying moments which is decisive of character. Henry faltered not an instant; but rising to a loftier attitude, and fixing on the Speaker an eye of the most determined fire, he finished his sentence with the firmest emphasis,] may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it.' 'I well remember,' says Jefferson, 'the cry of treason, the pause of Henry at the name of George the Third, and the presence of mind with which he closed his sentence, and baffled the vociferated charge.'

"The grandeur of that scene, and the triumphant eclat of Henry, made the heart of young Jefferson ache for the propitious moment which should enroll him among the champions of persecuted humanity. Then was realized that burning vision of his fancy, which, at the age of fourteen, amidst the crowning hilarities of the chase, had pointed his aspirations to the more solid and rational exultation which awaits 'the honest advocate of his country's rights.'"

In May, 1769, Jefferson took his seat in the Virginia House of Burgesses, and the first act of his public career was to prepare and have introduced a bill "for the permission of the emanci-

pation of slaves." Throughout his whole life that subject engaged his earnest, consistent, and eloquent advocacy. In my chapter on Lincoln we have seen something of what he felt and thought about negro slavery—the twin evil of Protection; and in Rayner's biography we find this record on page 153:

"The high honor of having set the example in the magnanimous work of African Abolition (prohibiting the importation of slaves from Africa), belongs clearly and absolutely to America. Virginia was the first sovereign and independent State, herself a slave-holding community, which renounced the nefarious commerce. She preceded Great Britain twenty-nine years, and the other principal slave-dealing powers in Europe, except Denmark, more than thirty-five years; and among the multitude of statesmen and philanthropists whose praises have been heralded through the universe, and deservedly so, for their splendid successes in this species of legislation, the merit of priority, and of self-denying patriotism, attaches irresistably and incontestably to Mr. Jefferson."

Early in 1774 Jefferson penned that immortal "Summary View of the Rights of British America," every principle of which he afterwards incorporated in the Declaration of Independence. Little minds and carping critics have been very busy over the chronological fact that a few citizens of Mechlenburg County, North Carolina, issued a similar declaration in May, 1775; that Mason's Virginia Bill of Rights was adopted in June, 1776; and that many of the familiar phrases embodied in Jefferson's revolutionary document can be traced to Locke's "Treatise on Government," and Aphra Behn's tragi-comedy "The Widow Ranter, or, The History of Bacon in Virginia." But if men of sense will turn to

the closing chapter in Volume I of Moses Coit Tyler's "Literary History of the American Revolution," they will find little difficulty, and very much pleasure, in learning the exact degree of originality and effective power in the immortal Declaration, into which Jefferson "poured the soul of the continent."

The extracts below I take from the Summary View, which was addressed directly to the King of Great Britain:

"Our ancestors, before their emigration to America, were the free inhabitants of the British dominions in Europe, and possessed a right, which nature has given to all men, of departing from the country in which chance, not choice, has placed them; of going in quest of new habitations, and of there establishing new societies, under such laws and regulations as to them shall seem most likely to promote public happiness. That their Saxon ancestors had, under this universal law, in like manner left their native wilds and woods in the North of Europe; had possessed themselves of the Island of Britain, then less charged with inhabitants, and had established there that system of laws which has so long been the glory and protection of that country."

"From the nature and purpose of civil institutions, all the lands within the limits which any particular society has circumscribed around itself, are assumed by that society, and subject to their allottment; this may be done by themselves assembled collectively, or by their Legislature, to whom they may have delegated sovereign authority: and, if they are allotted in neither of these ways, each individual of the society may appropriate to himself such lands as he finds vacant, and occupancy will give him title."

"Let those flatter who fear: it is not an American art. To give praise where it is not due, might be well from the venal, but would ill beseem those who are asserting the rights of human nature. They know, and will, therefore, say, that Kings

are the servants, not the proprietors of the people. Open your breast, Sire, to liberal and expanded thought. Let not the name of George the Third be a blot on the page of history. You are surrounded by British counsellors; but remember that they are parties. You have no ministers for American affairs, because you have none taken from among us, nor amenable to the laws on which they are to give you advice. It behooves you, therefore, to think and to act for yourself and your people. The great principles of right and wrong are legible to every reader: to pursue them requires not the aid of many counsellors. The whole art of government consists in the art of being honest. Only aim to do your duty, and mankind will give you credit where you fail. No longer persevere in sacrificing the rights of one part of the empire to the inordinate desires of another; but deal out to all equal and impartial right."

"The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time; the hand of force may destroy, but cannot disjoin them. This, Sire, is our last, our determined resolution."

That document, and a score or more of like fiber that he had penned since 1769, resulted in Jefferson's election to the Continental Congress, where he took his seat on June 21, 1775. That was already an assemblage of famous men; and John Adams, of Massachusetts, tells us that this new member from Virginia came with a "reputation for literature, science, and a happy talent of composition. Writings of his were handed about, remarkable for the peculiar felicity of expression." A year later, when that assembly of law-abiding and liberty-loving freemen had brought themselves to the point of declaring Independence, it is small wonder that Jefferson, a trained lawyer, should have been selected to write the document. Benjamin Franklin and John Adams were put upon the committee with him;

but both Franklin and Adams were quick to recognize the wish of Congress, and they promptly delegated the work of preparation to the man who had proved himself the matchless penman of the Revolution.

"Is it, indeed, possible for us Americans, near the close of the nineteenth century, to be entirely just to the literary quality of this most monumental document—this much belauded, much bespouted, much beflouted document?—since, in order to be so, we need to rid ourselves, if we can, of the obstreperous memories of a life-time of Independence Days, and to unlink and disperse the associations which have somehow confounded Jefferson's masterpiece with the rattle of fire-crackers, with the flash and the sputter of burning tar-barrels, and with that unreserved, that gyratory and perspiratory, eloquence now for more than a hundred years consecrated to the return of our fateful Fourth of July. Nothing which has not supreme literary merit has ever triumphantly endured such an ordeal, or ever been subjected to it.

"No man can adequately explain the persistent fascination which this state-paper has had, and which it still has, for the American people, or for its undiminished power over them, without taking into account its extraordinary literary merits—its possession of the witchery of true substance wedded to perfect form:—its massiveness and incisiveness of thought, its art in the marshaling of topics with which it deals, its symmetry, its energy, the definiteness and limpidity of its statements, its exquisite diction—at once terse, musical, and electrical; and, as an essential part of this literary outfit, many of those spiritual notes which can attract and enthrall our hearts,—veneration for God, veneration for man, veneration for principle, respect for public opinion, moral earnestness, moral courage, optimism, a stately and noble pathos, finally, self-sacrificing devotion to a cause so great as to be herein identified with the happiness, not of one people only, or of one race only, but of human nature itself.

"Upon the whole, this is the most commanding and the most pathetic utterance, in any age, in any language, of national grievances and of national purposes; having a Demosthenic mo-

mentum of thought, and a fervor of emotional appeal such as Tyrtæus might have put into his war-songs. Indeed, the Declaration of Independence is a kind of war-song; it is a stately and passionate chant of human freedom; it is a prose lyric of civil and military heroism. We may be altogether sure that no genuine development of literary taste among the American people in any period of our future history can result in serious misfortune to this particular specimen of American literature."

—*Moses Coit Tyler.*

Immediately after the adoption of the Declaration, Jefferson notified the leaders of his home constituents that he desired to retire from Congress and accept his election to a seat in the Virginia Legislature. But again they elected him for another term in the Continental Congress. Again he resigned! The reason for this action is clearly explained in the following extracts from the written record which he has left us:

"The spirit of the times may alter, will alter. Our rulers will become corrupt, our people careless. A single zealot may become persecutor, and better men be his victims. It can never be too often repeated, that the time for fixing every essential right, on a legal basis, is while our rulers are honest, and ourselves united. From the conclusion of this war (of the Revolution) we shall be going down hill. It will not then be necessary to resort every moment to the people for support. They will be forgotten, therefore, and their rights disregarded. They will forget themselves, but in the sole faculty of making money, and will never think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights. The shackles, therefore, which shall not be knocked off at the conclusion of the war, will remain on us long, will be made heavier and heavier, till our rights shall revive or expire in a convulsion."

Leaving Philadelphia in September, 1776, he had been at home but a few days when he was notified that, in conjunction with the venerable

Benjamin Franklin, he had been appointed a Commissioner to France, for the vitally important business of negotiating treaties of alliance and commerce with that government. This distinguished honor he also declined, explaining: "I saw that the laboring oar was really at home, where much was to be done, *of the most permanent interest, in new-modelling our governments.*"

Taking his seat in the Virginia Legislature, on October 11, 1776, he obtained leave to bring in a Bill for the establishment of Courts of Justice, himself being appointed chairman of the committee in charge. He drew the Ordinance, unanimously adopted, which divided the State into counties, erected three distinct grades of Courts —County, Superior, and Supreme—carefully guarded the ancient right of trial by jury in the Courts of Law, and otherwise established the legal system which has been closely followed in practically every State in the Union.

Then immediately he brought in his famous Bill for the Abolition of the Law of Entails. This was a bold measure in the Virginia of that day, and describing the situation briefly Rayner tells us:

"In the earlier times of the Colony, when lands were to be obtained for little or nothing, certain provident individuals procured large grants; and, desirous of founding great families for themselves, settled them on their descendants in *fee tail.* The transmission of these estates from generation to generation, in the same name, raised up a distinct set of families, who, being privileged by the law, in the perpetuation of their wealth, were thus formed into the Patrician order, distinguished by the splendor and luxury of their establishments.

This order, having in process of time, engulfed the greater part of the landed property, and with it, the political power of the Province, remained stationary, in general, on the grounds of their forefathers; for there was no emigration to the westward in those days."

The contest over the Law of Entails was a bitter one, but Jefferson finally carried the day; and thus, he says, was "broken-up the hereditary and high-handed aristocracy, which, by accumulating immense masses of property in single lines of family, had divided our country into two distinct orders of nobles and plebeians."

Now, if living Americans with heads to think, and wills to do, will simply make a serious and orderly business of learning the facts as to great landed estates which are now monopolized by individuals, and little groups of individuals, in the anthracite region, in the Lake Superior iron ore region, and throughout our vast Public Domain; and if they will contemplate the familiar facts as to other "immense masses of property held by single families" in the form of legislative franchises for railroads, pipe lines, street railways, and other public utilities—then I think they will realize the significance of Jefferson's work back in those early days of Colonial Virginia. And instead of wasting any more time and effort in debating visionary schemes of "government ownership," the thing needful is, that we now proceed with our political business precisely as Jefferson and his followers did identically the same kind of work in their day. Our problems loom larger in money-value than did theirs; we must deal with landed estates

which run into millions of acres instead of thousands of acres as in Jefferson's time; but the principles are unchanged, and the methods of legal procedure are identical. We can break-up the monopoly of our high-handed land speculators and mining aristocrats, by simply applying the law of Eminent Domain to vacant and unused opportunities; and we can soon end the domination of a few families over our railroads, pipe-lines, and other public utilities, by simply applying the well-tried system of publicity and national supervision which has solved our banking problem.

> "Follow principle and the knot unties itself." —*Thomas Jefferson.*

The next heroic task to which Jefferson addressed himself was that of re-writing the Code of Virginia—to the end that every trace of the aristocratic and Feudal systems of Europe might be wiped from our statute laws. This great work occupied nearly two years of all his available time; and it was only after several subsequent years of hard fighting, with Mason and Madison as his chief coadjutors, that they were able to secure the enactment of the main feature of the new and essentially-republican system. But they finally triumphed; and thus the Virginia Code became the one model which was closely followed in all the States.

Beyond the repeal of the Law of Entails, to which reference has been made, the distinguishing features of this great modern code of Anglo-Saxon law, were: (1) the abrogation of the right

of primogeniture, requiring the equal division of inheritances among children; (2) the assertion of the right of expatriation, prescribing rules whereby aliens may become citizens; (3) the abolition of capital punishment in all cases except for treason and murder, and the formal assertion (for the first time in legal history) of the principle that reformation of the offender should be the object of all discipline; and (4) the immortal statute establishing freedom of religion upon the broadest foundations.

To these wide departures from the semi-barbarous system of laws then in force the world over, Jefferson also added a chapter providing for the emancipation of all slaves born after the passage of the act; and another chapter providing a complete system of public education—elementary schools, academies or colleges, and universities. The emancipation chapter was rejected, and we well know the consequences which followed. The statute for public education also failed of passage at the time; but gradually the system was introduced elsewhere, particularly in New England; and as new States were added to the Union, Jefferson's far-seeing work became the very basis of our public school system.

Historians tell us a great deal about the Julian Code, and in all reform literature the Code of Napoleon is constantly heralded. But it requires no prophetic faculty to foresee that this Jefferson Code is now destined to win world-wide recognition for the far-reaching and fundamental reforms which it inaugurated—not alone in America, but throughout all Europe as well. For

every advance in governmental science that has been won in Europe during the past century and a quarter, can be traced directly to the all-pervading work of this greatest of law-givers.

On June 6, 1783, Jefferson was again elected to the Continental Congress. This second term he distinguished by establishing our present monetary system, and by penning the original Ordinance providing for the Homestead settlement of our vast Public Domain. Not a dime or a dollar that we ever handle but bears the stamp of Jefferson's inventive and constructive genius; and not a title deed to one square foot of land in any part of the great region lying North and West of the Ohio River, but is drawn and recorded as he planned that it should be.

On May 11, 1784, Jefferson accepted his commission as Ambassador to France, to succeed Benjamin Franklin. Then began that memorable course of nearly six years devoted to foreign studies and extensive European travel. To recount what he did, what he wrote, what he discovered, and what he sent home in the form of seeds, plants, inventions, and available scientific and artistic information, would require a book—a book which, if properly done by an author familiar with Europe, must become a little classic in the literature of travel, exploration, and personal experience. I shall content myself here with simply referring my readers to his letters of that and subsequent periods, addressed to personal friends, co-laborers at home, members of his family, and persons representing every grade of intellectual society. These can be found in

every considerable biography of him; and wherever found they will richly repay careful reading, because of the wide range of subjects discussed, and the masterful treatment of every topic. Quotations from three of his letters, written at different dates, will answer our present purpose—the first two indicating the influences which brought on the French Revolution of 1789, and the last indicating Jefferson's estimate of the comparative merits of American and European institutions:

"The American Revolution seems first to have awakened the thinking part of the French nation, in general, from the sleep of despotism into which they were sunk. The officers, too, who had been to America, were mostly young men, less shackled by habit and prejudice, and more ready to assent to the suggestions of common sense, and feeling of common rights, than others. They came back to France with new ideas and impressions. The press, notwithstanding its shackles, began to disseminate them; conversation assumed new freedoms; politics became the theme of all societies, male and female; and a very extensive and zealous party was formed, which acquired the appellation of the Patriotic party, who, sensible of the abusive government under which they lived, sighed for occasions for reforming it. This party comprehended all the honesty of the Kingdom, sufficiently at leisure to think: the men of letters, the easy Bourgeois, the young nobility, partly from reflection, partly from mode; for these sentiments became matter of mode, and, as such, united most of the young women to the party."

"But he (the King) had a Queen of absolute sway over his weak mind and timid virtue, and of a character the reverse of his in all points. This angel, as gaudily painted in the rhapsodies of Burke, with some smartness of fancy, but no sound sense, was proud, disdainful of restraint, indignant at all obstacles to her will, eager in the pursuit of pleasure, and firm enough to hold to her desires, or perish in their wreck.

Her inordinate gambling and dissipations, with those of the Count d'Artois, and others of her clique, had been a sensible item in the exhaustion of the treasury, which called into action the reforming hand of the nation; and her opposition to it, her inflexible perverseness, and dauntless spirit, led herself to the guillotine, drew the King on with her, and plunged the world into crimes and calamities which will forever stain the pages of modern history. I have ever believed that, had there been no Queen, there would have been no Revolution. . . . I should have shut up the Queen in a convent, putting harm out of her power, and placed the King in his station, investing him with limited powers, which, I verily believe, he would have honestly exercised, according to the measure of his understanding. In this way, no void would have been created, courting the usurpation of a military adventurer, nor occasion given for those enormities which demoralized the nations of the world, and destroyed, and is yet to destroy, millions and millions of its inhabitants."

"Above all things, I am astonished at some people's considering a kingly government as a refuge. Advise such to read the fable of the frogs, who solicited Jupiter for a King. If that does not put them to rights, send them to Europe, to see something of the trappings of monarchy; and I will undertake that every man shall go back thoroughly cured. If all the evils which can arise among us, from the republican form of government, from this day to the Day of Judgment, could be put into a scale against what this country (France) suffers from its monarchical form in a week, or England in a month, the latter would preponderate. Consider the contents of the Red book in England, or the *Almanac Royale* of France, and say what a people gain by monarchy. No race of kings has ever presented above one man of common sense in twenty generations. The best they can do is, to leave things to their ministers; and what are their ministers but a committee badly chosen? If the King ever meddles, it is to do harm."

It was during Jefferson's absence in France that the Constitution was adopted. For that reason pocket-interest politicians and shallow

writers upon American political history have spread the idea that he had no part in shaping that second Magna Charta of Anglo-Saxon freedom. But if men who think—men who use their own heads instead of lazily following the lead of other people—will read Jefferson's numerous letters from Paris before, during, and after the convention in Philadelphia in 1787; and then if they will study the record of his relationship to Madison who called the convention, to Washington who presided over it, and to Mason and Henry who came so near defeating the original Constitution in Virginia—I think they will have little difficulty in understanding that Jefferson was scrupulously careful, first, to make his position perfectly clear; and then, with purposeful intent, held himself aloof from the bitter partisanship of the contest to the end that, at the critical stage of the struggle, he might throw all his influence in favor of the policy which triumphed: that of adopting the Constitution, with the pledge that it should be amended. Witness this extract from one of his letters from Paris:

"The operations which have taken place in America lately, fill me with pleasure. In the first place, they realize the confidence I had, that, whenever our affairs go obviously wrong, the good sense of the people will interpose and set them to rights.

"The example of changing a Constitution by assembling the wise men of the State, instead of assembling armies, will be worth as much to the world as the former examples we had given them. The Constitution, too, which was the result of our deliberations, is unquestionably the wisest ever yet presented to man; and some of the accommodations of interest which it has

adopted, are greatly pleasing to me, who have before had occasions of seeing how difficult those interests were to accommodate.

"A general concurrence of opinion seems to authorize us to say it has some defects. I am one of those who think it a defect that the important rights, not placed in security by the frame of the Constitution itself, were not explicitely secured by a supplementary declaration. There are rights which it is useless to surrender to the government, and which governments have yet always been fond to evade. These are the rights of thinking, and publishing our thoughts by speaking or writing; the right of free commerce; the right of personal freedom.

"We are now allowed to say, such a declaration of rights, as a supplement to the Constitution, where that is silent, is wanting, to secure us in these points. The general voice has legitimated this objection."

Indeed, present-day thinkers and doers need only study the scattered but voluminous records of Federalist criticism and frenzied opposition to Jefferson to see that, though absent in France, he was clearly recognized as the real leader of the anti-Federalist forces. And he undoubtedly came home with resolute purpose to lend all his commanding influence to the enactment of those ten indispensable amendments which were added to the Constitution in 1789-91. It is needless to give details here. Samuel Adams' Tea Party; Patrick Henry's imperishable oratory; George Washington's generalship; George Mason's Spartan battles for equality before the law; James Madison's clear-eyed, systematic, and purposeful work; and, finally, Jefferson's genius for individual liberty, Jefferson's matchless faculty for forging natural rights into enduring statute laws, and Jefferson's Cæsar-like leadership in political warfare—these were the forces

which gave us American institutions as they exist. Each and all these great names were indispensable to success, as every man who is honored in Revolutionary history was necessary to the immortal work then accomplished. But the time has now come when living Americans need to realize that Thomas Jefferson was the presiding genius of law, order, leadership, and constructive writing, throughout the whole of that resplendent period in human history; and without the potent and pervading spell of his influence over Federalists, anti-Federalists, and strong men who occupied a middle ground, the Constitution could not have survived in the form which has made it the Magna Charta of American liberty and opportunity.

In Chapter V we have seen what occupied his thought and time and patience throughout the trying years between 1790 and 1800, while he was organizing and leading the great party of the people. We know the immortal message that he gave mankind from the Presidential chair when he took that solemn oath to serve the people—instead of ignobly serving self. And never while time lasts can history overlook his unmatched and peerless diplomacy in sending Monroe to Paris to outwit Napoleon, and every lesser plotter in Europe, by securing the navigation of the Mississippi and making the Louisiana Purchase.

Now let us add to this rugged and incomplete outline of the stupendous work accomplished during Jefferson's long career of public service, these further facts: He invented the system of copying letters in letter-press, now in universal

use the world over; he introduced stereotyping and the culture of upland rice in America; it is largely to his influence and example that we are indebted for the classical and artistic features of our justly-famed Colonial Architecture; his private library of 6,000 volumes, in many languages, supplied the foundation of our great Congressional Library, after the British burned our Capitol in the War of 1812; and, finally, as philosopher, moralist, inventor, scientist, linguist, scholar, and patron of arts and education, he put the moneyed "philanthropists" of our day to utter shame by proving, in the sacrifice of a great fortune, and in tireless intellectual benefactions, that he despised pocket-interest and mere lust of personal glory at the expense of other people.

We live in an age of specialization.

The special work to which Jefferson stands pledged from early youth, was to prove himself an "honest advocate of his country's rights." He hewed true to the line, regardless of where the chips might fall. As patriot, penman of Revolutionary literature, statesman, law-giver, diplomatist, political leader, executive, and sage in counsel, he did a work the like of which no other mortal man has ever yet achieved. And beyond this—the special work to which he pledged himself—he had power enough to prove that fortune, opportunity, pastime, and social ambition, are all sweetest when inspired by an honest resolve to make eating, sleeping, and waking subservient to the single aim of bettering the condition of all mankind. Materialists may

tell us there is nothing after this; egoists may reason that man is governed inexorably by self-interest; and worldly-wise money-makers may teach by barbarian example that "looking out for No. 1" is the only gospel of success—But all of this becomes mere confusion of thought when we face the facts of experience. Those of us who have seen the light in a fond mother's eyes; who have reared helpless little children through infancy to strong maturity; who have fought life's battles and won independence; and who have witnessed the scourge of needless misery which still curses all races of mankind—we know, by the high warrant of intellectual honesty, that life would not be worth living and progress would be impossible, were it not for the higher law of human nature which impels us to find happiness through ability and opportunity to serve others.

Now let us face the facts of life.

Millions upon millions of brave souls have lived and died before and for us. The inner purpose which has moved them all, has been to better their own conditions and make life easier and sweeter for those who come after. Among statesmen, Cæsar did a truly grand work in his day; but Jefferson did a far grander and nobler work, because he lived nineteen centuries later, and stood firmly upon Cæsar's shoulders. The day has gone by for senseless fighting among ourselves. The heroes who died in defense of our liberties have done enough of that to exempt us from such bloody necessity. Reason rules the world now; and as Andrew Jackson has written, "were we base enough to surrender our inde-

pendent rights, secured to us by the bravery and blood of our forefathers, we are unworthy of the name of freemen."

What we now need to realize is, that Jefferson solved the science and proved the system of representative government by majority vote of full-grown and formally recognized freemen who are able to fight. Herbert Spencer, as scientist and greatest of evolutionary philosophers, has written the law of equal freedom in these words:

> "Every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he does not infringe the equal freedom of every other man."

But Thomas Jefferson knew this law before Herbert Spencer lived. And in addition to being a political philosopher, Jefferson was also a trained lawyer and great constructive statesman. He saw the inevitable and burdensome abuses of every system of kingly and aristocratic government; he read the history of the little Greek democracies in the original text of their great writers; he understood Cæsar and the Roman system better than if he had lived under them; he even studied Saxon, "as an aid to legal philology," and that he might read aright the records of our Saxon ancestors who "left their native wilds and woods in the North of Europe," where they had never submitted to any other rule than that of their chosen representatives in Folk-house, elected by majority vote of fighters and freemen. Thus it was that Jefferson lived to write the universal law of civilized society in just seven words:

"That government is best which governs least."

The time is now full ripe to have done with sentimental and impracticable theories of socialism, or "government ownership," as a remedy for the intolerable evils which Protection and Monopoly have heaped upon us. What every American freeman wants, and all he asks, is liberty and opportunity. The one is guaranteed by our laws, and the other is provided in plenty by bounteous Nature. Society is a growth—not a creation. Every line and letter of our Constitution was written because human experience had proved the need for it. That experience covered nearly two centuries of experiment in self-government on this continent; and back of that was the written record of uncounted centuries of experiment with every known theory of government in Europe. Our forefathers rejected the pure democracy of the Greeks, because it had proved a failure—because its "government ownership" and its impracticable ideals of citizenship had literally wrecked that truly wonderful civilization. Upon the other hand, they rejected kingly and aristocratic rule, because everywhere, in all history, it had resulted in that tyranny and oppression which George the Third did his utmost to fasten upon this continent. They held fast to representative government by select men, chosen by majority vote of fighting freemen, because that system had piloted our race since the very earliest times of which we have record—in the North of Europe, in Scotia, in Britain, in Normandy, and in America. An unconquerable love

of personal liberty is the distinguishing characteristic of our race. As a means of enjoying the fullest possible measure of individual freedom, our forbears have always claimed their flocks, their farms, and their firesides as THEIR VERY OWN. Throughout all our history they have restricted government to the narrowest possible limits; and ever and always they have relied upon the ages-old device of fairly choosing representatives whom they could trust to look after the rigidly-limited business of administering public affairs. They well knew that the glorious Greeks were finally forced to abject surrender of all their rights because slavery, communism, and socialism were the ill-chosen experiments which destroyed personal liberty. They also saw, with clear-eyed understanding, that Rome fell after an unexampled era of material splendor and military power, solely because the Romans ignored the natural rights of the individual, and knew nothing of the Saxon system of representative assemblies. Dr. John Fiske has made all this as clear as day for men who think; and I trust that the following brief quotations from himself, Mason, and Jefferson, will be enough to give my readers the sure direction of that future course which we must take—because our fathers have sailed it safely through every stress of storm and circumstance in all the recorded past:

"In the welding together of primitive shifting tribes into *stable and powerful nations*, we can seem to discern three different methods that have been followed at different times and places, with widely different results. In all cases the fusion has been effected by war, but it has gone on in three broadly con-

trasted ways. The first of these methods, which has been followed from time immemorial in the Oriental world, may be roughly described as *conquest without incorporation.* A tribe grows to national dimensions by conquering and annexing its neighbors, without admitting them to a share in its political life. Probably there is always at first some incorporation, or even perhaps some crude germ of federative alliance; but this goes very little way,—only far enough to fuse together a few closely related tribes, agreeing in speech and habits, into a single great tribe that can overwhelm its neighbors. After reaching that point, the conquering tribe simply annexes its neighbors and *makes them its slaves.*

"The second method by which nations have been made may be called the Roman method; and we may briefly describe it as *conquest with incorporation, but without representation.* The secret of Rome's wonderful strength lay in the fact that she incorporated the vanquished peoples into her own body politic. One after another Italian tribes and Italian towns were not merely overcome but admitted to a share in the political rights and privileges of the victors. Never before had so many people been brought under one government *without making slaves of most of them.* Liberty had existed before, whether in barbaric tribes or in Greek cities. Union had existed before, in Assyrian or Persian despotisms. Now liberty and union were for the first time joined together, with consequences enduring and stupendous. The whole Mediterranean world was brought under one government; ancient barriers of religon, speech, and custom were overthrown in every direction; and innumerable barbarian tribes, from the Alps to the wilds of northern Britain, from the Bay of Biscay to the Carpathian mountains, were more or less completely transformed into Roman citizens, protected by Roman law, and sharing in the material and spiritual benefits of Roman civilization. This was a prodigious work, which raised human life to a much higher plane than that which it had formerly occupied, and endless gratitude is due to the thousands of steadfast men who in one way or another devoted their lives to its accomplishment.

"The essential vice of the Roman system was that it had been unable to avoid weakening the spirit of personal independence and crushing out local self-government among the peoples to

whom it had been applied. It owed its wonderful success to joining Liberty with Union, but as it went on it found itself compelled gradually to sacrifice Liberty to Union, strengthening the hands of the central government and enlarging its functions more and more, until by and by the political life of the several parts had so far died away that, under the pressure of attack from without, the Union fell to pieces and the whole political system had to be slowly and painfully reconstructed.

"Now, if we ask why the Roman government found itself thus obliged to sacrifice personal liberty and local independence to the paramount necessity of holding the empire together, the answer will point us to the essential and fundamental vice of the Roman method of nation-making. It lacked the principle of representation.

"The old Roman world knew nothing of representative assemblies. Its senates were assemblies of notables, constituting in the main an aristocracy of men who had held high office; its popular assemblies were primary assemblies—town-meetings. There was no notion of such a thing as political power delegated by the people to representatives who were to wield it away from home and out of sight of their constituents."

"The third method of nation-making may be called the Teutonic or pre-eminently English method. It differs from the Oriental and Roman methods which we have been considering in a feature of most profound significance; it contains the principle of representation. For this reason, though like all nation-making it was in its early stages attended with war and conquest, it nevertheless does not necessarily require war and conquest in order to be put into operation. Of the other two methods war was an essential part. Where representative government is once established, it is possible for a great nation to be formed by the peaceful coalescence of neighboring states, or by their union into a federal body. An instance of the former was the coalescence of England and Scotland effected early in the eighteenth century after ages of mutual hostility; for instances of the latter we have Switzerland and the United States. At the close of our Civil War there were now and then zealous people to be found who thought that the Southern States ought to be treated as conquered territory, governed by prefects sent

from Washington, and held down by military force for a generation or so. Let us hope that there are few to-day who can fail to see that such a course would have been fraught with almost as much damage as the secession movement itself. At least it would have been a hasty confession, quite uncalled for and quite untrue, that American federalism had thus far proved itself incompetent,—that we had indeed preserved our national unity, but only at the frightful cost of sinking to a lower plane of national life." —*Dr. John Fiske.*

"Every husbandman will be quickly converted into a soldier when he knows and feels that he is to fight, not in defense of the rights of a particular family, or a prince, *but of his own.* This is the true construction of the *pro aris et focis* which has, in all ages, performed such wonders. It was this which in ancient times enabled the little cluster of Grecian republics to resist, and almost constantly to defeat, the Persian monarch. It was this which supported the States of Holland against a body of veteran troops through a thirty years' war with Spain, then the greatest monarchy in Europe, and finally rendered them victorious. It is this which preserves the freedom and independence of the Swiss Cantons in the midst of th most powerful nations. And who that reflects seriously upon the situation in America, in the beginning of the late war (of the Revolution)—without arms—without soldiers—without trade, money or credit—in a manner destitute of all resources—but must ascribe our success to this pervading, all-powerful principle?" —*George Mason.*

"Every man and every body of men on earth possess the right of self-government. They receive it with their being from the hand of nature. Individuals exercise it by their single will; collections of men by that of their majority; for the law of the majority is the natural law of every society of men."

"Nor are we acting for ourselves alone, but for the whole human race. The event of our experiment is to show whether man can be trusted with self-government. The eyes of suffering humanity are fixed on us with anxiety as their only hope; and on such a theater, for such a cause, we must suppress all smaller passions and local considerations. The leaders of Federalism say that man cannot be trusted with his own government. We must do no act which shall replace them in the direction of the ex-

periment. We must not, by any departure from principle, disgust the mass of our fellow-citizens who have confided to us this interesting cause."

"If we move in mass, be it ever so circuitously, we shall attain our object; but if we break into squads, everyone pursuing the path he thinks most direct, we become an easy conquest to those who can now barely hold us in check. I repeat again that we ought not to schismatize on either man or measures. Principles alone can justify that." —*Thomas Jefferson.*

As compared with the problems which confronted our Revolutionary fathers, our present problems are like lilliputians standing beside six-foot fighters, full-armed and eager for the fray. To doubt the issue, is to doubt that light and learning lead mankind!

The patriots of 1776 had fighting enough, on land and sea, with a foreign foe who deliberately attempted to overthrow our right to local self-government. Washington taught that tyrant the ignoble folly of his mistake; and Andrew Jackson and Ulysses S. Grant have taught us the senseless folly of fighting among ourselves. Jefferson saw the full meaning of Washington's work; and he foresaw, with the clear eye of a prophet, all that Jackson and Grant would be forced to do if we rebelled against "Union, the last anchor of our hope." Shallow writers have sought to discredit Jefferson as an executive—a man of action—because he deplored, and did all that mortal man could do, in every station that he occupied, to avoid resort to war and bloodshed. But critics of that calibre were simply unable to understand the man. They had not mind enough to comprehend that Jefferson's genius enabled him to clearly see that frank and friendly negotiation—

arbitration, as we word it now—was a more potent and powerful force than either armies or navies. Witness this from the pen of Gouverneur Morris, while Jefferson was President:

"It is the fashion with those discontented creatures called Federalists, to say that our President is not a Christian; yet they must acknowledge that in true Christian meekness, when smitten on one cheek he turns the other. . . . He believes, for instance, in the perfectibility of man, the wisdom of mobs, and moderation of Jacobins. He believes in payment of debts by diminution of revenue, in defense of territory by reduction of armies, and in vindication of rights *by the appointment of ambassadors.*"

The particular ambassador to whom Mr. Morris referred, was one James Monroe, who negotiated the Louisiana Purchase, and who afterwards gave us what is known as the Monroe Doctrine. And witness this further commentary from the pen of that same frank, fearless, and intellectually limited Gouverneur Morris:

"In truth, there is just now so much of what we call philosophy among our rulers, that we must not be surprised at the charge of pusillanimity. . . . Indeed, it is the fashion to say that, when injured, it is more honorable to wait in patience the uncertain issue of negotiation, than promptly to do ourselves right by an act of hostility."

The meaning of this is simply that Morris, like Alexander Hamilton, put all his trust in armies and navies, under aristocratic rule. They had no faith in Jefferson's principles—less faith in his pacific policies. In other words, they were Englishmen in political philosophy—not Americans. But Jefferson met and mastered them easily, without resort to force—precisely as we can

meet and master every combination of men, fattening upon legislative privilege, which now confronts us, by simply following Jefferson's precepts and example.

No foreign foe confronts us—not one now dares to face the issue of such a contest. The bitter lessons of the Civil War have taught us, for all time, that fighting among ourselves will never again be permitted. A full generation of industrial warfare between employers and employed—strikes, lockouts, boycotts, and unorganized rioting—these have finally taught thinking men, at least, the senselessness of appeals to coercion, when frank and friendly arbitration can be safely employed to compose every honest difference of opinion as to wages, rights, and interests. We need only to realize distinctly that the manly work now immediately in hand, is to hold our hotheads and theorists in subjection, so that we may proceed, with orderly and law-abiding system, in the every-day business of setting our political household in order—precisely as Jefferson and his followers did the same work in their time. For whereas they were confronted with the grim necessity of trying a grand experiment in government, we are confronted with no such necessity now. Their work laid, broad and deep, the lasting foundations upon which we have reared the mightiest Nation of the earth today. We are done with experiments—done with any further need for theories upon the subject of the best system of government for enlightened mankind. Our power, our wealth, and our inventions; the mighty stream of emigration which

pours upon our shores; the increasing number of individuals and delegations who flock here to learn how we manage affairs; the swelling tide of our exports and imports; the unparalleled and prolonged boom in the market value of our securities, and even the speculative Trust stocks —all these evidences of prosperity and growth point directly to the obvious fact that we are now in possession of the best system of government that the world has ever known.

Unthinking people are much disturbed over the municipal corruption which has filled our newspapers with political scandal since the days of the Tweed ring. But do these people realize that we have builded new cities, great and small, in such unheard-of numbers in the short time since Appomattox firmly established our Union, that we have not yet had time to give science and system to city government?

Shrewd men have made so many millions out of railroad franchises since the Civil War that uninformed people fear we may be overwhelmed by the power of these magnates of the transportation world. But do such people realize that during the past generation we have been so busy with the heavy work of building, and then rebuilding, tens of thousands of miles of railroads, that we have simply not yet had time to establish that system of national supervision which is certain to insure equal rates for every individual who has need to use our railroads—and our pipelines?

Men who set apart no time for reading history, are persuaded that our modern promoters

of "combinations" have discovered a new system of business which is destined to revolutionize industry and commerce. But have these men ever stopped long enough to study the wonderful combination of forces which ruled the Roman Empire—the superb organization which enabled the Roman Catholic church to survive the Dark Ages—and the unmatched Federation of free peoples and individual States which forms the American Union? Beside these mighty combinations, the contemptible little pocket-interest schemes of Wall Street promoters are mere gadflies which annoy the body politic.

Finally, European travelers who come to study us, and penny-wise philosophers who descant upon our present and future, see here so much to amaze, confuse, and confound them, that newspapers, periodicals, story books, and especially new political dissertations—all these teem with theories, philosophies, and predictions as to the future of society. But all this, for the most part, is sheer nonsense. "There is nothing new under the sun," wrote the philosophers of the olden time. And we may be sure they were right; because human nature and fundamental principles endure forever. The most we can do, and all we need do to prove ourselves worthy of those gone before, is to adapt new conditions to the universal laws of nature and society which have thus far been discovered and proved.

Let us have done with doubts and fears.

The Patriots of the Revolution gave us a Constitution "the wisest ever yet presented to man." Thomas Jefferson was the genius who shaped

that second Magna Charta of our race-inherited liberties. This is true because, without his Summary View of the Rights of British America, without his Declaration of Independence, without his Virginia Code, without the ten indispensable amendments to the Constitution which his influence won for us, without his purchase of the Louisiana Territory, without his unmatched leadership in organizing the great party of the people, and finally, without the immortal platform of political principles which he gave us in his first Inaugural Address—without these written records of a revolution wrought in political science, American institutions could not possibly be what they are. In truth, Jefferson's thought and work pervade every fiber of our governmental systems. And never while time lasts and representative government by the people endures, can the spell of his influence be lost.

In his writings we find the line and letter for every rule of action which we now need to guide us on our way, because he probed to the bottom every fact and theory of the true science of government; and he solved the problem for us—just so surely as Newton solved the underlying problems of physical science. Of the more than eighty millions who now compose our society, an average of one full grown fighter for every five stands ever-ready to shoulder arms and go out to mortal battle in defense of our institutions and our rights whenever occasion calls. They need no argument; they need no conversion. They know instinctively, as a race inheritance, that America is the hope of mankind.

Viewing the facts for myself, I know no shadow of doubt that the time is surely coming when mankind shall realize in fact the hope of that great poet who predicted "the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world." It is nothing less than senseless to suppose that civilized Europe can go on forever arming for bloody battle, when the world has become a mere neighborhood, when open debate can settle every difference of opinion, and when a Congress of wise men, representing Federated States—each of which enjoys local self-government—can be safely relied upon for that rule of action which will yield the largest benefit to all. In my belief the Peace Conference at the Hague is the first step towards "that consummation devoutly to be wished." *But whether that be true or no,* the plain duty which now rests upon the thinkers and leaders of the American people, is to bravely go on with the work "which they who fought have thus far so nobly advanced." The undeniable hope and destiny of our race, is "peace on earth, good will to men." And as men of action, dealing with the physical forces about us, if we be true to our fathers, true to ourselves, and true to our children, every man of us will now pledge himself to the thought in that parting message which the Sage of Monticello uttered on his deathbed: "I HAVE DONE FOR MY COUNTRY, AND FOR ALL MANKIND, ALL THAT I COULD DO; AND I NOW RESIGN MY SOUL, WITHOUT FEAR, TO MY GOD, MY DAUGHTER TO MY COUNTRY."